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THE ROANOKE VOYAGES

1584-1590

DOCUMENTS TO ILLUSTRATE
THE ENGLISH VOYAGES TO NORTH AMERICA
UNDER THE PATENT GRANTED
TO WALTER RALEIGH
IN 1584

EDITED BY
DAVID BEERS QUINN
Professor of History in the University College of Swansea
(University of Wales)

VOLUME II

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CHAPTER VIII

THE 1587 VOYAGES

my hopes cleane out of sight with forced wind
to kyngdomes strange, to lands farr of addrest
Scinthia, bk. II, ll. 87–8[1]

NARRATIVE

It was not originally intended that John White's colony of 1587 should supersede that on Roanoke Island, but should supplement it with a second—and different—settlement further north. Raleigh had, it will be realized, a vast field for initiative along the North American coast. Gilbert, in similar circumstances, handed out paper grants of land-rights to anyone who could pay him something.[2] Raleigh had, with Lane's colony of 1585 and Grenville's reinforcement of 1586, taken direct responsibility for establishing on Roanoke Island a paid garrison to maintain a privateering base. Now, with Grenville away on his second venture and with Lane's reports before him, Raleigh, in the latter part of 1586, was able to take stock of the position. Roanoke Island was still his responsibility, though he could not forecast how Grenville would fail to decide squarely between abandonment and an adequate garrison. John White was one of those who had returned from Virginia optimistic and not discouraged. Lane had suggested that the best hope lay in the vicinity of Chesapeake Bay, where White may well have been.[3]

Somehow, therefore, the scheme emerged for a colony under White to settle the City of Raleigh as a separate venture on Chesapeake Bay. Raleigh would remain the overlord and would, in all likelihood, subscribe handsomely to the venture, but direct investment would rest mainly with the colonists themselves. They would bring out families who would establish a self-perpetuating English

[1] *The poems of Sir Walter Ralegh*, ed. A. M. C. Latham (1929), p. 80.
[2] Cp. Quinn, *Gilbert*, II, passim. [3] Pp. 56, 261–3, 274–5 above.

community on American soil. There, a privateering base could grow up as a cheap subsidiary to the colony. This scheme was conceived before Grenville returned, and was independent of whatever news he might bring about the situation on Roanoke Island. Grenville, we are told, went quickly to London to report to Raleigh after his return to Bideford,[1] but the formal arrangement between Raleigh and White's settlers can have owed nothing to his influence or his reports. It was made on 7 January 1587 and created a corporate body, the Governor and Assistants of the City of Raleigh in Virginia, with John White as first governor and with twelve named assistants. We do not know all the details of this arrangement, as the assignment has not survived,[2] though we learn that every volunteer was assured 500 acres of land, irrespective of any financial investment he might make.[3] Nor do we know at all clearly who were the people who responded to the appeal for volunteers which must have been made immediately the terms of the agreement were drawn up. The only assumption we can legitimately make is that they were people of some little capital, but whether Londoners or from Hampshire, Devonshire or Cornwall is far from clear. According to Diaz 210 people intended to go, but White says 150. The number who remained in Virginia of those who left England was 110.[4]

There is some obscurity about the organization of the expedition. It would appear that White assembled most of his settlers in London and got them on board the *Lion*, a fly-boat and a pinnace.[5] If the *Lion* was the *Red Lion* of Chichester, which had been employed in 1585, her owners (not yet identified) may have had some share in the expedition. In late March or early April White brought the ships round to Portsmouth where fitting out was apparently continued. It is not improbable that some settlers joined the expedition there. He then moved to Cowes on

[1] P. 793 below.

[2] Document no. 74, pp. 506–12 below, and Document no. 77, p. 516, together provide, with references on pp. 571–2, what is known of the agreement.

[3] P. 385 above. [4] Cp. p. 543. [5] P. 516 below.

26 April,[1] evidently to make contact at Carisbrooke Castle with Sir George Carey, captain of the Isle of Wight and vice-admiral of Hampshire. The latter had been in the privateering business for some years and he may well have been a subscriber to the earlier Virginia ventures. On 29 January he had obtained letters of reprisal for the *Commander*, the *Swallow* and the *Gabriel*, which were to sail under the command of Captain William Irish.[2] Some degree of co-operation with White's venture was arranged, and it appears likely that they set out for the West Indies ahead of White with some settlers on board, or at least some stores, intending to call at Virginia on their way homewards and so test the value of the new Chesapeake base for privateering purposes.[3] White's stay at Cowes for eight days suggests that he, too, took on men and stores there. We still lack a full picture of the background to the voyage, but the revelation of Carey's association with it is of considerable interest and importance.

It seems probable that it was originally hoped to send a second contingent from North Devon and Cornwall to accompany or to follow White. On 2 February 1587 letters of reprisal were issued to Grenville, Richard Willett and Aldred Stockambe (or Stockama) to set out the *Virgin God Save Her* (evidently a converted Spanish prize), the *Roebuck* of Bideford, a pinnace and, probably, a second fly-boat.[4] This would indicate that another venture backed mainly by the Barnstaple and Bideford men, as in 1586, was being prepared. But so far as is known none of the vessels reached western waters, and it is probable that the project was abandoned on account of Grenville's other commitments in the south-west.[5] Had they sailed, the likelihood is that these vessels would have tried again to establish a privateering base in North America.

Leaving Portsmouth for a brief call at Plymouth, White's ships finally cleared only on 8 May, later (for unexplained reasons) than

[1] Pp. 516–17 below. [2] Document 75, p. 512 below.

[3] Cp. pp. 782–3 below.

[4] P.R.O., H.C.A. 25/2, pkt. 5 (now classed as 'unfit'). I am indebted for this information to Dr K. R. Andrews. [5] Rowse, *Grenville*, pp. 247–51.

any of the previous expeditions.[1] White evidently sailed as captain of the admiral, the *Lion*, with Simon Fernandez, one of the assistants of the City of Raleigh company, as master. We do not know who was captain of the fly-boat, but the master was Edward Spicer. Captain Edward Stafford appears to have commanded the pinnace. Throughout the voyage, White's journal contains a string of complaints against Fernandez. Clearly, he considered that White's opinion counted for little, though we cannot accept everything White says of him as necessarily true. Fernandez is first blamed[2] for deserting the fly-boat off Portugal, but the *Lion* had, nevertheless, a good passage to Dominica and the fly-boat was only two days behind. On St Croix the passengers found that the food and water disagreed with them, while Fernandez was said to have put them in danger by saying the island was uninhabited when traces of Caribs were in fact found. He was further declared responsible for an abortive visit by Stafford to Vieques Island in search of sheep. The vessels put in on 28 June, apparently at Tallaboa Bay, and spent several days taking in water, though White grumbled that they used up too much of their beer during this time. They also lost, by desertion to the Spaniards, two Irishmen, Darby Glande and Denis Carroll.[3] Setting out on 1 July, they planned to take salt at Salinas Bay, and an expedition by the pinnace, much like that of 1585, was planned. At the last minute (White says) Fernandez got it called off on grounds of alleged danger to the pinnace. As White tells it, the incident sounds childish and unreasonable, but it may be that Fernandez remembered the quarrel between Lane and Grenville arising from the appearance of Spanish soldiers when Lane was on shore taking salt with only a small party. If Fernandez found White as touchy as Lane had been, it is likely that he revised his plans in case similar, or worse, consequences should follow. So, too, he prevented White going on shore at Boqueron Bay, a little further north, to collect plants of oranges, pineapples, mammees and bananas to take to the

[1] P. 517 below. Cp. pp. 92, 178 above.
[2] P. 517 below.
[3] Cp. pp. 519–20, 834–8 below.

settlement. All these things, and cattle, would be obtained, according to Fernandez, at Hispaniola, where he expected to contact his friend Alanson.

Leaving Puerto Rico, the ships sailed, as in 1585, along the north coast of Hispaniola, but when there Fernandez again found excuses for not calling at Puerto de Plata or Isabela and, finally, on 5 July the vessels cleared from the island. Once again Fernandez's actions, as White explains them, do not make very good sense. Once more the pilot is blamed for misleading the company by promising the discovery of salt on the Caicos Islands which was not found. At last they left the West Indies on 7 July for Virginia. Was this halting progress due to ill luck or was it due to a sharp clash of temperaments between the two men? It does not need much reading between the lines to say that it was probably both. But there was, in all probability, something else besides. We may conjecture, with some plausibility, that Fernandez wished to use the opportunity of following the Indies route to pick up prizes. White does not mention any attempt to make captures but it is clear that he was hostile to privateering,[1] and is likely to have been particularly so when he had settlers of both sexes on board. If, therefore, we have the commander, White, constantly urging the pilot and sailing-master to put the vessels in the way of getting water, plants, cattle and such like, while, at the same time, he was thwarting the pilot's plans for prize-taking, we can well imagine the latter taking his revenge by obstructing White's projects. As it was, the two vessels, the fly-boat still being absent, left the West Indies without prizes and without supplies which might have been of great value to the settlers.

Before they anchored at Port Ferdinando on 22 July—the 76th day out—two other mishaps were blamed by White on Fernandez. The first was that he mistook the coastline well to the south for Croatoan and wasted some days there before he found his mistake, and the second was that he would have lost the ships on the shoals off one of the capes (perhaps Cape Hatteras) but for the good look-out kept by Captain Stafford.

[1] Cp. pp. 536, 538 below.

At this point we can summarize what we know, despite the absence of any instructions for the voyage, of Raleigh's and White's intentions. First, the expedition carried Manteo and another Indian who had probably come to England with Lane.[1] It was Raleigh's intention that the former should be established as chief of the Roanoke and Croatoan Indians while acknowledging Raleigh's and the queen's overlordship. It seems likely that Grenville's party was to stay with him, since White talks of consulting them, not of taking them off. Perhaps they were to be supplied with stores by White and told to stay another year, or else they may have been promised a passage with Carey's ships when they arrived. In any event, the separateness of the Roanoke settlement from White's venture was clearly recognized and the latter's call at Roanoke Island was intended merely to supply him with certain information. For White's party the foundation of the City of Raleigh was to be begun on Chesapeake Bay, most probably at Kecoughtan,[2] according to the terms of the agreement of the previous January, and on the information brought back by the first colony and the advice given by Hakluyt.[3]

What the programme of Carey's ships was is not too clear. Their progress through the West Indies and their capture of a prize in June can be traced in the Spanish documents.[4] It is to a seaman, Alonso Ruiz, taken in this prize, that we owe the information[5] that Captain Irish called for water at St Mary's Bay, expecting to find the English settlement there. This indicates one purpose of the visit, the sampling of the facilities which the settlement could offer to privateers. Otherwise, our information is tantalizingly incomplete. St Mary's Bay was taken in 1585 to mean Wococon inlet:

[1] Towaye, the second Indian, may have been brought by Grenville, but, more probably, this was the one christened Raleigh (cp. pp. 543, 790 and Document no. 71, p. 495 above).

[2] This possibility is discussed below, p. 854.

[3] Document no. 69, pp. 493–4 above.

[4] Wright, *Further English voyages*, pp. lxx, 231–2; pp. 543, 835–6 below.

[5] Wright, *Further English voyages*, pp. 233–5; Document no. 148, pp. 782–3 below.

to the Spaniards it was the name of Chesapeake Bay. We are, in fact, in doubt as to whether Captain Irish intended to visit Grenville's settlers at Roanoke Island after testing the facilities for watering at Port Ferdinando, or whether he expected to find White's new settlement on its deep-water harbour in Chesapeake Bay. We are even in doubt when the visit took place. The privateers are not heard of in the West Indies after June, so that they may have arrived ahead of White. They found, Ruiz said, a mule and some traces of cattle. These might have been remnants of the 1585–6 colony, either on the Banks near Port Ferdinando or even near the site of the winter settlement on Chesapeake Bay of which we know so little. Had they arrived after 22 July at the Banks they would have found White's ships or, after he had gone, some more effective indications of the settlers at Roanoke Island.[1] The new evidence is thus both tantalizingly brief and inconclusive. If Irish had settlers or stores with him we can only conclude that he brought them back with him to England.

It is difficult to say whether the next episode, at Roanoke Island, best illustrates White's ineffectiveness as a leader or Fernandez's masterfulness. White and forty of his men set out in the pinnace from Port Ferdinando for Roanoke Island to make contact with Grenville's men. Before going, they were ordered—no other term is really applicable—to remain on the island except for White and a few more. Fernandez and his friends regarded the season as too far advanced, i.e. the time left for privateering too short, for them to go on to Chesapeake Bay after the Roanoke Island visit. Therefore the colonists must be decanted at Roanoke Island whether they wished it or not. This at least is the story as told by White,[2] and it is most extraordinary that the commander of an expedition should have allowed himself to be so dictated to without at least a token resistance. Instead, White capitulated meekly and proceeded to extract what remnants of co-operation he could from the seamen. Perhaps the underlying reason is that in some respects

[1] Cp. the findings of the Spanish expedition in 1588, pp. 810–11 below.
[2] P. 523 below.

he preferred the district he knew well to that which he either did not know at all or knew imperfectly.

The visit to the settlement at the northern end of Roanoke Island was a rather melancholy one. Grenville's men were not found. The earthworks of the fort were found razed to the ground, and the fort probably damaged by the fire started by the Indians. But the houses outside its perimeter were found intact, though overgrown. Immediately White's men were set to work to repair them and build new cottages. A few days later the Indians, now hidden on the mainland, made themselves felt when they ambushed and killed George Howe. This was not a good omen for friendly relations with them. On the 30th, however, Stafford took a party in the pinnace across the sounds to the vicinity of Cape Hatteras and made friendly contact with the Croatoan Indians. From them he learnt that the remnants of the Roanoke Indians, including Wanchese, had been responsible both for the attack on Grenville's men and on Howe. To them, at the village of Dasemunkepeuc, the Indians of Pomeiooc, Aquascogoc and Secoton, had come to co-operate against the English. Nevertheless, White indicated he was ready to discuss the re-establishment of friendly relations, the Croatoan Indians promising to try to bring some representatives of these villages together in a week's time. The week passed, however, without any news of a meeting being arranged so he determined to raid Dasemunkepeuc to avenge Howe. Landing near there on 9 August he became involved with some Indians, only to find after shooting one that they were from Croatoan, Wingina's men having deserted the village and the others having come to raid the growing crops. This evidently caused some difficulty with Manteo, but he eventually recognized that the mischance was the fault of the Croatoans. A few days later, and probably in the presence of a number of the Croatoan Indians, Manteo was christened and invested with the lordship of Roanoke and Dasemunkepeuc.[1] All this really meant was that he, with whatever Indians he could gather about him, would be recog-

[1] P. 531 below.

nized by the white settlement as having supreme authority in Indian matters in the area, under Raleigh and his representatives.

White occupies so much space with these Indian affairs that he tells us very little about the preparation of the settlement. We do not know, for example, what arrangement was made with Manteo on the appropriation of land for the colonists. The arrival of the fly-boat on 25 July had reunited the settlers and they had apparently agreed to the revised arrangements for their disposition. (White uses the occasion to belabour Fernandez again for his deliberate desertion of Spicer, the fly-boat's master, but his allegations of conspiracy are too vague to be convincing.) On 18 August the first child was born to the settlers in Virginia. White's granddaughter was christened Virginia Dare on the 24th. Before this the settlers were already in controversy. On the 20th it was decided to send two factors from among the assistants back to England in order to ensure the speedy sending out of supplies. By the 22nd they had failed to find any volunteers and came to ask White if he would go. He held out for various safeguards, protection for his personal goods and chattels, and a testimonial stating that he was not deserting his post but going at the request of all the settlers. An arrangement on these lines was completed on the 25th.[1]

A storm had blown up at sea on the 21st and the *Lion* had to cut her cables and stand off from the shore. She returned on the 27th to pick up part of her crew, and, with the fly-boat, weighed anchor. White came on board the latter just before an accident at the capstan brought about the injury of nearly half her crew. She kept up with the *Lion* until the Azores were sighted on 17 September, where Fernandez took the admiral to search for prizes, while the fly-boat limped home to England, reaching Smerwick in such bad shape that White transshipped to the *Monkey* for Southampton where he arrived on 8 November. There he learnt that the *Lion* had put into Portsmouth prizeless about 18 October. If Stafford brought the pinnace home, and did not leave it with the colonists, he may have left ahead of the other ships and got back before them.[2]

[1] Pp. 534–5 below. [2] Cp. pp. 532, 534, 547–8, 615.

The results, then, of the 1587 ventures were very mixed. The second Roanoke colony was proved to have been lost and the first Chesapeake Bay colony failed to take effect. On the other hand a lively, if inexperienced, community had been established on Roanoke Island.[1] For White the responsibilities of command made the voyage a misery, heightened by his quarrels with Fernandez. The latter now disappears from the ventures and, indeed, from our knowledge. White had the task of finding and speeding supplies and this was finally to prove more than he could achieve. Carey's ships had found water when they touched at the American shore even if no colonists. What it would be well worth knowing is whether Carey's or any other privateering vessels followed their example in the years following. So far no evidence has appeared. On this occasion the *Commander* and her consorts got home safely and disposed of prizes worth between £2000 and £5000 at Bristol.[2]

74. [7 JANUARY 1587.]

GRANT OF ARMS FOR THE CITY OF RALEIGH IN VIRGINIA, AND FOR ITS GOVERNOR AND ASSISTANTS[3]

To all and singuler Nobles & gentil*men* and others vniuersally, to whome theis presents shalbe seene or knowen: William Dethick al*ias* Garter principall King of Armes, & chief officer of Armes for the moste noble order of the Garter, with due Comendacions and

[1] Only James Lasie and John Wright had been there before (cp. p. 541).

[2] Document no. 79, p. 543 below.

[3] College of Arms, Vincent Old Grants MS 157, pp. 397–8. I am indebted for this copy of the draft to Mr Anthony R. Wagner, Richmond Herald. John Vincent, son of Augustine Vincent (d. 1626), made a copy after 1660 from Sir William Dethick's 'Great register', not now apparently extant, which is in Queen's College, Oxford, MS 137, no. 120 (for the privilege of seeing which I am indebted to the Librarian). The latter is presumably from the final text, but it has so many minor omissions and corruptions that a full collation appeared superfluous, though attention has been called to some variations in names. For the date see p. 571 below, where the agreement of 7 January 1587 (not so far discovered) is recited in part. A. H. Johnson (*History of the Drapers' Company of London*, III (1922), 51–2) believed the grant of arms to belong to 1589. The Queen's College copy has the heading 'Raleigh Ciuitas in Virginia'. The arms of the City of Raleigh and of John White are reproduced facing p. 509.

Greetings: Forasmuch as yt is very expedyent and auncyent Custome of honour obserued, That the vertuous worthy and valeant Acts, of excellent men imployde in the moste honorable servyce of God their Prynce or Contrye in Peace or Warre, Together with the persons, might in all tymes & throwgh all ages be honored, rewarded, and their Remembrance by sondry Monuments preserued, wherin the Chiefest & most vsuall meanes hath bene & is the bearing of Ensignes & Tokens of honour in Shields of Armes. That therby such Persons so mereting may florish during their lyues & their fame encreasse & Contynue in their Ofspring and Posterities for euer: &*cetera*: We are therfore respectyuely to tak Notyce in this behalf, That wheras the Quenes moste excellent Ma*ies*tie Elezabeth by the grace of God, Quene of Englond France & Irelond deffendor of the Faith, &c.: by her hignes l*ett*res Patents vnder the Great Seale of Englond bearing date at Westm*inster* the 25th day of March in the 26th yeare of her Ma*ies*ties Raigne, Hath (in most Royall maner) Geuen & Granted to the honorable Sir Walter Ralegh[1] Knight, Lorde of the Stannerie in the Countes of Cornewall & Deuon (by the name of her Ma*iestes* trusty & welbeloued Servant Walter Ralegh Esquio*ur* and to his heires & Assigneis, free libertie and lycence to discouer, search fynde owt, & viewe, such remoted, heathen & barbarous Lands, Contryes & Territories not actually possessed of any Christyan Prynce, nor inhabyted by Christian People, as to him his heires & assigneis shall seme good And the same to haue holde occupy & enioy, to him his heir*es* & assigneis for euer, with all prerogatyues, Comodytyes, Iurisdictons, Royalties, priuiledges Franchises & prehemynenc*es*, therto or therabowts, both by sea & Land, as by the said l*ett*res Patents, amongst dyuers Guyfts Grants & Confirmac*i*ons, therin Conteyned more at Large may appeare/ And wheras since the Granting or making of the said L*ett*res Patents, by the meanes, industrie & experience of the said Sir Walter Ralegh & other his Assocyats Company or Assigneis, there hath bene and now ys a

[1] Here and elsewhere the Queen's College copy spells the personal and place name 'Raleigh', except for the form 'Rawley' in one place.

barbarous & heathen Land or Contry fownde owt & discouered, called or now termed OSSOMOCOMUCK[1] al*ias* WYNGANDACOIA[2] al*ias* VIRGINEA, neuer befor that tyme actually possessed or inhabyted by any Christyan Prynce or Christian People/ And wher also the said Sir Walter Ralegh Knight (for that the inhabyteng of the said Contry by Christyan People, may be greatly to the glory of God, Thencreasse of Christian Faith & Religyon, Thenlargement of the Quenes Ma*iesties* Domynyons, The better execucion of her hignes said Grant, The Comon Vtilyty of the whole Realme of Englond, And aswell the particuler benefitt of euery Adventurer & Traueller, thither thence From & therin, as for dyuers other good Cawses & Consideracions, & for vertuous Acts donne & to be donne) Hath by his Indenture bearing date the day of theis presents[3] (amongste dyuers & sondry guifts, Grants & Confirmacions) nomynated elected, Chosen, Constituted made & appoynted, Iohn White of London Gent*leman*, to be the chief Gouernor theare, And Roger Baylye:[4] Ananyas Darr: Christopher Cooper [: Iohn Sampson: Thomas Steeuens:[5]] William Fullwoodd,[6] Roger Pratt, Dyonise Harvye, Iohn Nicholls, George Howe [, Iames Plat,[7]] and Symon Fardinando of London Gentle*men* to be the Twelue Assistants theare, And them the said Gouernor & Twelve Assistants, & their Successors, hath for euer Confirmed made encorporated, & accepted one Bodye pollitique & Corporate, by the name Tytle and Aucthoritye of THE GOUERNOUR AND ASSISTANTS OF THE CITTIE OF RALEGH IN VIRGINEA

*gou*ernor & *Assistants of Ralegh in Virginia*
White
Dare
Baylye
Cooper
Fullwood
Pratt
Harvye
Nicholls
Howe
Ferdinando

[1] This is probably nearer the form brought back by Hariot than those printed by Hakluyt (p. 570, and see p. 854).

[2] 'WINGGUNDACOIA' (Queen's College MS 137, no. 120, and see pp. 853–4 below).

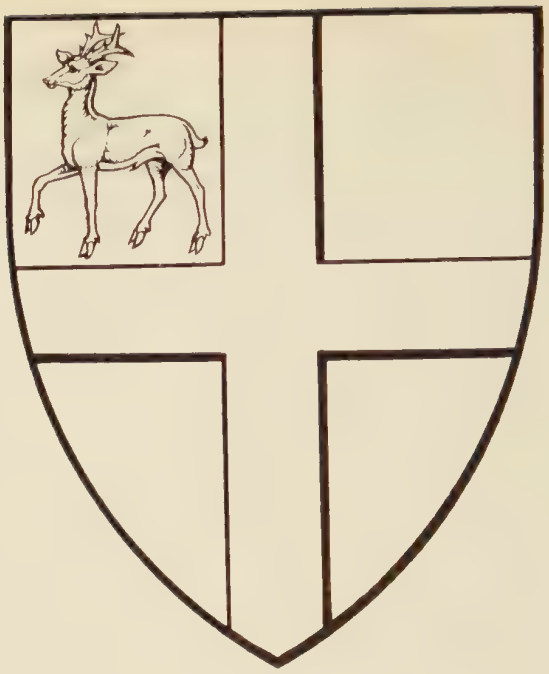
[3] I.e. 7 January 1586–7.

[4] 'Raylye' (Queen's College MS 137, no. 120), though elsewhere 'Baily' and 'Baylie'.

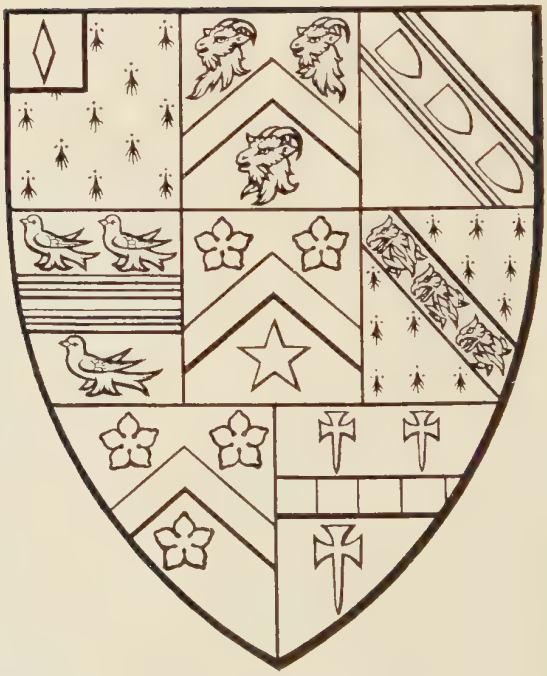
[5] The names are supplied conjecturally, but with some confidence, from the list cited on pp. 539–40, 571 below, which otherwise follows the same order though Stevens precedes Sampson on p. 539. The copy of the indenture on which Dethick based his grant was evidently defective or illegible, since the Queen's College copy has the same omission.

[6] 'Fullwood' (Queen's College MS 137, no. 120).

[7] Supplied as explained n. 5 above.



(*a*)



(*b*)

9. Arms of (*a*) the City of Raleigh, and (*b*) John White.

WITH THE APPERTENANCES/ As by the same Indenture amongst other things therin sett downe, more at Large may appeare. In Consideracion wherof, And for sondry vertuous & renowned Acts, & enterprizes of the wurshipfull, the said Gouernour & Assistants, And to thend they & their Companye may be better assembled, knowen & vnyted by names, Armes, Seales, Banners & Ensignes, necessary and to be vsed, in all their affaires & enterprises of honour, louing & assured Societye, And for a further declaracion and demonstracion of the premisses (being most willing & desirous, to Second & accompany all vertuous, & honorable Acts & Renowned enterprises, with the Ceremonyes & Remembrances, due & accustomed, such as to the Aucthority of my Office doth principally apperteyne) Haue Assigned Geuen Granted, Confirmed by blazon & exemplefyed, vnto the same Originall & Renowned CITTIE OF RALEGH IN VIRGINEA WITH THE APPERTENANCES, And to the wurshipfull the said GOUERNOUR and ASSISTANTS (the First Fownders therof) And to the Citezens & Comynalty of the same, And to their Successors for euer, These Armes or Ensignes of honour in maner & forme Following: Viz: *On a Feelde Argent, A playne Crosse gules, with a Robuck proper in the First Quarter*, and this Symbole or Poesie, CONCORDIA: PARVA CRESCUNT: And to the said Iohn White[1] his heires ofspring & posteritye for ever, These Armes or Ensignes of honour following: Viz: *In the first Feeld* (for a Reward) *Ermyn, on A Canton gules, A Fuzell Argent. In the second* (for his owne Ancyent Cote, by the name of White) *A Cheueron betwene three Goates heads razed sables, In the third* (for Wymarke) *on a bend Cotyzed Asure three Inscuchions of the Feeld, In the fowrth* (for Wyat) *Gules twoe barres, Gemweys betwene three Marteletts Argent/ In the fifte* (for Kyllyowe) *Or, A Cheueron betwene twoe Cinquefoiles, & a mullett Sables: In the sixt* (for Saker)[2] *Ermyn, On a bend Sables, three phenix heads, razed or, In the seventh* (for Buddyer) *Gules, A Cheueron Argent betwene three Cinquefoiles Or, In the eight*

Arms of Corporation of Ralegh in Virginia

Arms of White

Wymark

Wyat

Kyllyowe

Saker

Buddyer

[1] In a letter Mr A. R. Wagner, Richmond Herald, says: 'This grant does not throw any light on the origin of John White'; cp. also pp. 41, 45 above.

[2] 'Yaker', apparently a slip (Queen's College MS 137, no. 120).

Butler (for Buttler) *Gules, On a Fesse Compound Argent & Sables betwene three Crosses forme fixe of the second.* And his Creaste or Cognoizance, *On a healme on a wreath Argent, & Gules, An Ermyn Seant*
Baylye *proper, mantled gules, dobled argent.* And to the said ROGER BAYLYE his heires ofspring and Posteritye for euer, These Armes or Ensignes of honour following: Viz: *A Feelde Gules, A Crosse Pattee betwene*
Dare *fower Fuzells Argent.* And to the said ANANYAS DARE his heires ofspring & posteritye for euer, These Armes or Ensignes of honor following: Viz: *A Feelde Gules, A Crosse engrailde, betwene fower*
Cooper *Fuzels Argent*: And to the sayd CHRISTOPHER COOPER, his heires ofspring & posteritye for euer, These Armes or Ensignes of honor following, Viz: *A Feelde Gules, On a Cheueron Argent, A Fuzell Gules, betwene three Lyons passant gardant of the second.* And to the
[*Sampson*] said [IOHN SAMPSON[1]] his heires ofspring & posterity for euer, These Armes or Ensignes of honor following: viz: *A Feelde Ermyn, On a Bend Cotyzed gules fyue Fuzels Argent.* And to the said [THOMAS
[*Steeuens*] STEEVENS[2]] his heires ofspring & posterity for euer, These Armes or Ensignes of honor following Viz: *A Feelde Argent, twoe barres gules, On a Cheef of the second, fyue Fuzels of the first.* And to the
Fullwood said WILLIAM FULLWOODD, his heires ofspring & Posteritye for euer, These Armes or Ensignes of Honour following Viz. *A Feeld Ermyn, On a playne Crosse Gules A Fuzell Argent & or per pale In a Cheef Asure, three Flower deluces of the therd*: And to the said
Pratt ROGER PRATT his heires Ofspring and Posterity for euer, These Armes or Ensignes of honor following Viz: *A Feelde Ermyn, On*
Harvye *a Cheef gules three Fuzels Argent.* And to the said DIONYSE HARVYE, his heires, ofspring & posterity for euer, These Armes or Ensignes of honour following, Viz. *A Feeld Gules, A Beare Rampant betwene*
Nicholls *three Fuzels Argent.* And to the said IOHN NICHOLLS[3] his heires Ofspring & Posterity for euer, These Armes or Ensignes of honour

[1] See p. 508, n. 5, above. In this case, and in those of Steevens and Plat, Tudor heraldic standards surely reached their lowest level when even the names of the men to whom grants of arms were being made were evidently unknown to the herald.

[2] See p. 508, n. 5, above.

[3] 'Nicholes', but elsewhere 'Nicholls' (Queen's College MS 137, no. 120).

following: Viz: *A Feelde per bend argent & gules, fyue Fuzels Counterchanged.* And to the said GEORGE HOWE, his heires Ofspring & *Howe*
Posterity for euer, These Armes or Ensignes of honor following: Viz: *A Feelde Argent, On a Cheueron gules three Fuzels of the First betwene three wolffs heads Couped Sables.* And to the said [IAMES PLAT[1]] his heires Ofspring & Posterity for euer, These Armes or *[Plat]*
Ensignes of honour following, Viz. *A Feeld Argent, A Fesse betwene three Fuzels gules.* And to the said SIMON FERDINANDO his heires *Ferdinando*
ofspring & posterity for euer, These Armes or Ensignes of honour following. Viz: *A Feeld Argent twoe barres wavee Asure, On a Canton gules three Fuzels of the first,* As in these *presents* depicted more plainly appeareth: Together also with their seuerall Creasts, or Cognoyzances, as in the Margynes herof are playnly & seuerally depicted & sett forth: To haue and to holde all & singuler the seuerall mencioned Armes, Ensignes of honour, Creasts & Cognoyzances, as afore is expressed, To the said Renowned CITTIE OF RALEGH IN VIRGINEA WITH THE APPERTENANCES, And to the wurshipfull the said GOUERNOUR, and ASSISTANTS, Citesyns & Comynaltye of the same, And to their Successours, And to the heires Ofspring & Posterities of the said Gouernour & Assistants, & euery of them for euer: And they to vse, beare enioye & shewe forth the same, at his & their, & euery of their libertie & plesure, at all tymes for euer, & in all places vniversally, through all Regyons, Kyngdomes, Contryes & Domynyons whatsoeuer, Christen or heathen, by Sea or by Land: Which seuerall Armes Ensignes of honour, Creasts & Cognoyzances, & euery parte & parcell therof, I the said: William Dethick alias Garter principall King of Armes, doe by these *presents* Ratefye, Confirme geue & Grant vnto the said Cittye, And to the said Iohn White, Roger Baylye, Ananyas Dare,[2] Christopher Cooper, [Iohn Sampson, Thomas Steeuens,] William Fullwoodd, Roger Pratt, Dionyse harvy,[3] Iohn Nicholls, George Howe, [Iames Plat,] & Symon Ferdinando, & to euery of

[1] See p. 508, n. 5, above.
[2] 'Darre' (Queen's College MS 137, no. 120).
[3] 'Harvie' (ibid.).

them in Seueraltye And to the Heires Ofspring, & Posterytyes of them, & euery of them for euer, without lett impediment or Interruption of any person or persons, And to thintent the premisses may be divulged, & the Remembrance therof had in perpetuytye, doe Requyre all Prynces Nobles & Gentil*men*, to tak Notyce herof, and to permitt the same to pass with the priuiledges & Fauours of honour, In Wytnes wherof: &*cetera*

[*Endorsed:*] for thinhabitants at Virginea A patent of Arms[1]

75. 29 JANUARY 1587.

WARRANT FOR THE ISSUE OF LETTERS OF REPRISAL TO SIR GEORGE CAREY[2]

The lord admiral, Lord Charles Howard, authorises Dr Julius Caesar, judge of the admiralty, to issue letters of reprisals against Spaniards to Sir George Carey for one ship, one bark and one pinnace. Dated, 29 January 1586.

[Lord Howard of Effingham adds, in his own hand, the following note to Dr Caesar:]

'My brother Sir George is a man sufficient to aunsweare for anythinge that his ships may commit, and therefore it shall not nede to take bonds of him, and his losses are comonly knowne.'[3]

[*Endorsed:*] The Commander, 200 tons, 100 men.
The Swallow, 70 tons, 40 men.
The Gabriel, 30 tons, 25 men.
Victualled for six months.[4]

[1] Queen's College MS 137, no. 120, lacks the endorsement.

[2] H.C.A. 25/2, pkt. 5 (now classed as 'unfit'). I am indebted to Dr K. R. Andrews for this summary. For Carey see pp. 498–9, and Andrews, 'Elizabethan privateering', p. 280.

[3] The applicant had normally to specify the losses which he claimed he had sustained at the hands of the Spaniards, and had to enter into bonds to observe the rules laid down by the privy council in July 1585 regarding the disposal of spoils obtained while operating the privateers.

[4] Dr Andrews points out to me that it was usual to add the names of the captains and masters and the number of guns for incorporation in the letters of reprisal. We may take it that Captain William Irish was captain of the *Commander* (cp. p. 499), but we do not know the other captains' names.

76. 22 FEBRUARY 1587.

DEDICATION BY RICHARD HAKLUYT TO RALEIGH[1]

For to whom should I offer these Decades of the New World but to you, whose recent record shows that you have spent nearly 100,000 ducats[2] in equipping your new fleets for the establishment of a third colony[3] to open up countries before unknown and inaccessible?

. . . Ever since you perceived that skill in the navigator's art, the chief ornament of an island kingdom, might attain its splendour amongst us if the aid of the mathematical sciences were enlisted, you have maintained in your household Thomas Hariot, a [young][4] man pre-eminent in those studies, at a most liberal salary in order that by his aid you might acquire those noble sciences in your leisure hours, and that your own sea-captains, of whom there are not a few, might link theory with practice, not without almost incredible results. What will shortly be the outcome of this excellent and most prudent departure of yours, even those whose judgement is no more than moderate will undoubtedly be able to divine with ease. This one thing I know, and that is that you are entering upon the one and only method by which first the Por-

[1] Dedication by Richard Hakluyt of his edition of Peter Martyr (*De orbe novo Petri Martyris Anglerii Mediolanensis decades octo . . . illustratae labore Richardi Hakluyti* (Paris, 1587), sigs. A 4 v–B 1 v) extracted from the translation by Mr F. C. Francis in Professor E. G. R. Taylor's *Hakluyts*, II, 362–9 (she also includes the Latin).

[2] Some £30,000 (cp. p. 220 above), though this is likely to be the whole amount laid out 1584–6 and not by Raleigh alone, and without adding countervailing privateering profits (cp. pp. 220–1).

[3] 'ducendo coloniam' (sig. A 4 v). For the early history of this phrase in English see D. B. Quinn, 'Sir Thomas Smith (1513–1577) and the beginnings of English colonial theory', in *Proc. American Philosophical Soc.*, LXXXIX (1945), 546–7.

[4] 'Thomam Hariotum iuuenem'. He had by 1584 incorporated his teachings in a lost book, the 'Arcticon', cp. pp. 36–7 above. For a good discussion of what little can be deduced from the common Oxford backgrounds of Hariot and his patron Raleigh, see C. S. Emden, *Oriel papers* (1948), pp. 18–19. We cannot say anything precise about the date of Hariot's entry into Raleigh's service except that it was between 1580 and 1584. For a suggestion that Hariot may have been diverted from navigational studies to learn an Algonquian language in 1584, see p. 37 above.

tuguese and then the Spaniards at last carried out to their own satisfaction what they had previously attempted so often at no slight sacrifice. Continue then to adorn the Sparta that you have won, proceed to add to your fleet which you maintain so splendidly that ship, that more than Argo, apt for a thousand hopes, constructed on a more than regal scale, which you have now happily completed.[1] Reveal to us the courts of China and the unknown straits which still lie hid: throw back the portals which have been closed since the world's beginning at the dawn of time. There yet remain for you new lands, ample realms, unknown peoples; they wait yet, I say, to be discovered and subdued, quickly and easily, under the happy auspices of your arms and enterprise, and the sceptre of our most serene Elizabeth, Empress—as even the Spaniard himself admits—of the Ocean. But to what end do I apply the spur to the racer, or panting behind, urge on the headlong leader? To what end do I exhort you or admonish you to persist in your project, when only recently you sent me letters from Court in which you freely swore that no terrors, no personal losses or misfortunes could or would ever tear you from the sweet embraces of your own Virginia,[2] that fairest of nymphs—though to many insufficiently well known,—whom our most generous sovereign has given you to be your bride? If you persevere only a little longer in your constancy, your bride will shortly bring forth new and most abundant offspring, such as will delight you and yours, and cover with disgrace and shame those who have so often dared rashly and impudently to charge her with barrenness.[3] For who has the just title to attach such a stigma to your Elizabeth's Virginia, when no one has yet probed the depths of her hidden resources and wealth, or her beauty hitherto concealed from our

[1] The *Ark Raleigh*, later *Ark Royal*, just built at Deptford.

[2] These letters have not survived, but they probably contained Raleigh's reflections after hearing Grenville's report on his return the previous December (see pp. 792–3 above).

[3] Part of the counter-attack against the critics of the continuance of the Virginia venture, the most active of whom were a substantial number of Lane's settlers of 1585–6 (cp. pp. 120–4).

sight? Let them go where they deserve, foolish drones, mindful only of their bellies and gullets, who fresh from that place like those whom Moses sent to spy out the promised land flowing with milk and honey, have treacherously published ill reports about it.[1] Time which is the judge of all things, and the diligent inquiry of your servants will reveal, God willing, many things undreamt of, which have ere this lain hid. That God will be with you, you have no reason to doubt, for his glory, the salvation of countless souls, and the increase of the Kingdom of Christ is at stake. Up then, go on as you have begun, leave to posterity an imperishable monument of your name and fame, such as age will never obliterate. For to posterity no greater glory can be handed down than to conquer the barbarian, to recall the savage and the pagan to civility, to draw the ignorant within the orbit of reason, and to fill with reverence for divinity the godless and the ungodly.[2]

77. 1587.

JOHN WHITE'S NARRATIVE OF HIS VOYAGE[3]

The fourth[4] voyage made to Virginia, with three shippes, in the yeere, 1587. Wherein was transported the second Colonie.[5]

[1] Though not, so far as is known, in print.

[2] Dated 'Paris octauo Kal. Mart. 1587' (22 February 1587, New Style). The privilege is dated 4 February and the map 1 May, so the volume is not likely to have appeared much before the end of May, when White's settlers were already well on their way (see p. 517 below).

[3] Richard Hakluyt, *Principall navigations* (1589), pp. 764–70, collated with III (1600), 280–6 (VIII (1904), 386–402). This is the earliest narrative of White's we have and it was evidently compiled by him (p. 538 below) before 25 March 1588, using his journal as a basis. It may have been written in this form for Raleigh (hence the emphasis on the charges against Simon Fernandez), or to make a case to put before the other assistants and their financial backers. Hakluyt in his table of contents, 1589, called it 'The voyage of Edward Stafford and Iohn White, set out by the aforesaid Sir Walter Ralegh the Fourth time to Virginia, An. 1587'.

[4] 1584, 1585 and 1586 (though we would find it useful to differentiate between Raleigh's supply ship and Grenville's fleet as two separate voyages) being the three earlier voyages. According to White's numeration later (p. 598 below) this was his third voyage to Virginia.

[5] It is more convenient to refer to Grenville's holding party of 1586 as the second colony and to this as the third (cp. p. 469 above).

In the yeere of our Lorde, 1587. Sir Walter Ralegh intending to persecuere in the planting of his Countrey of Virginia, prepared a newe Colonie of one hundred and fiftie men to be sent thither, vnder the charge of Iohn White, whom he appointed Gouernour, and also appointed vnto him twelue Assistants, vnto whome he gaue a Charter, and incorporated them by the name of Gouernour, and Assistants of the Citie of Ralegh in Virginia.[1]

Aprill.

Our Fleete being in number three saile, viz. the Admirall, a shippe of one hundred and twentie tunnes:[2] a Flie boate,[3] and a Pinnesse,[4] departed the sixe and twentieth of Aprill[5] from Portesmouth,[6] and

[1] What is known of the charter of 7 January 1587 is given on pp. 506–12, but the document itself has not survived. The precise extent of Raleigh's activity in recruiting settlers remains in doubt. According to Hariot (p. 385 above) each man had a promise of 500 acres of land in Virginia for his personal adventure only: he was probably given a bonus if he brought wife and/or children, while it is probable that the colonists put in their own investment for their stores and equipment, probably also for additional land. Grenville, according to Pedro Diaz, was also actively concerned, going to London after his return in December 1586, and assisting in preparing the expedition (p. 793). Of the round figure of 150 only 108 plus two Indians were left on Roanoke Island (pp. 539–43 below). The remainder may have sailed with William Irish.

[2] The *Lion* (p. 532 below), John White, captain (apparently), Simon Fernandez, master. She was probably the same ship which accompanied Grenville in 1585 (p. 179 above) and is taken to be so, but there is no certainty about it and the name was a fairly common one (cp. Corbett, *Spanish war, 1585–7*, p. 275).

[3] Nothing is known of her name or size, or her captain. Her master, Edward Spicer, afterwards commanded William Sanderson's *Moonlight* (pp. 581, 612 below).

[4] Not named: Edward Stafford (for whom see p. 194 above) was captain (p. 519 below).

[5] It was rather a late start and the vessels made no great hurry to clear after this, so that Fernandez may not have been wholly responsible for the late arrival in Virginia (p. 523 below).

[6] Pedro Diaz says the expedition was first fitted out in the Thames (p. 793 below) and left in March, but this is not corroborated, and Diaz was at Bideford or Stowe at the time. The choice of Portsmouth as the port from which White cleared needs explanation. It looks as if he had some connexions in the neighbourhood (cp. pp. 44–5) and so may have brought some of the settlers from Portsmouth or its hinterland.

the same day came to an anker at the Cowes, in the Isle of Wight, where wee staied eight daies.[1]

Maye.

The 5. of Maye, at nine of the clocke at night, we came to Plymmouth, where we remained the space of two daies.[2]

The 8. we waied anker at Plymmouth, and departed thence for Virginia.

The 16. Simon Ferdinando Master of our Admirall, lewdly forsooke our Flie boate, leauing her distressed in the Baye of Portingall.[3]

Iune.

The 19.[4] we fell with "Dominica, and the same euening we sailed betweene it, and Guadalupe: the 21. the Flie boat also fell with Dominica.[6]

"One of the Isles of the Indias, inhabited with Sauages.[5]

The 22. we came to an anker at an Isle, called Santa Cruz,[7] where all the planters were set on land, staying there till the 25. of the same moneth. At our first landing on this Island, some of our women, and men, by eating a small fruite, like greene apples, were

[1] Apparently in contact with Sir George Carey, whose headquarters were at Carisbrooke Castle, some six miles away. Cp. p. 499 above.

[2] The call at Plymouth was probably to receive final instructions from Raleigh and to take in water and possibly some other stores.

[3] This is the first of a long series of charges against Fernandez, over whom White appears to have been able to exercise little or no control. In any case her master was not incommoded by this action (p. 525 below). It is suggested that while Fernandez appears to have shown malice on some occasions, White is not wholly to be trusted. The underlying conflict was clearly over Fernandez's desire to continue the privateering tradition and White's wish to spare the settlers from delays and fights with Spanish vessels (cp. Quinn, 'The failure of Raleigh's American colonies', in *Essays in British and Irish history presented to J. E. Todd*, pp. 80–1, *Raleigh and the British empire*, p. 110; pp. 500–4 above).

[4] Thus sighting Dominica on the forty-second day out, which was slower than in 1585 (twenty-eighth) and approximately the same as in 1590 (forty-first) (pp. 180, 600).

[5] For the Dominican Caribs see p. 600 below.

[6] White evidently got this information after her arrival in Virginia (p. 525 below).

[7] St Croix, U.S. Virgin Islands (*West Indies pilot*, II (1942), 129–36).

fearefully troubled with a sudden burning in their mouthes, and swelling of their tongues so bigge, that some of them could not speake. Also a child by sucking one of those womens breastes, had at that instant his mouth set on such a burning, that it was strange to see how the infant was tormented for the time: but after 24. howres, it ware away of it selfe.[1]

Also the first night of our being on this Island, we tooke fiue great Torteses, some of them of such bignes, that sixeteene of our strongest men were tired with carrying of one of them but from the Sea side, to our cabbins.[2] In this Island we found no watring place, but a standing ponde, the water whereof was so euill, that many of our companie fell sicke with drinking thereof: and as many as did but wash their faces with that water, in the morning before the Sunne had drawen away the corruption, their faces did so burne, and swell, that their eies were shut vp, and could not see in fiue or sixe daies or longer.

The second day of our abode there, we sent foorth some of our men to search the Island for fresh water, three one way, and two another way. The Gouernour also, with sixe others, went vp to the toppe of an high hill, to view the Island, but could perceiue no signe of any men, or beastes, nor any goodnes, but Parots,[3] and trees of Guiacum.[4] Returning backe to our Cabbins another way, he found in the discent of a hill, certaine potsheards of sauage making, made of the earth of that Island: whereupon it was iudged, that this Island was inhabited with Sauages, though Fernando had tolde vs for certaine, the contrarie.[5] The same day at night, the rest

[1] Apparently a poisonous species of pome, which it is not possible to identify on the data given, but the effects of which as described above are quite appropriate to such a fruit. Hakluyt adds (III (1600), 281) in the margin 'Circumspection to be vsed in strange places.'

[2] Evidently specimens of the Loggerhead, a Sea Turtle.

[3] For the surviving species of parrots and parroquets see James Bond, *Field guide to birds of the West Indies* (1947), pp. 100–4.

[4] Guaiacum, *Lignum-vitae* (see pp. 329, 366).

[5] I have not found any reference to Carib occupation of St Croix. White is determined to blame Fernandez for any mischance that might have taken place.

of our companie very late returned to the Gouernour. The one companie affirmed, that they had seene in a valley, eleuen Sauages, and diuers houses halfe a mile distant from the steepe, or toppe of the hill where they staied. The other companie had found running out of a high rocke, a very faire spring of water, whereof they brought three bottles to the companie: for before that time, wee dranke the stinking water of the pond.

The same second day at night,[1] Captaine Stafford, with the pinnesse, departed from our fleete, riding at Santa Cruz, to an Island, called Beake,[2] lying neere S. Iohns,[3] being so directed by Ferdinando, who assured him he should there finde great plentie of sheepe. The next day at night, our planters left Santa Cruz, and came all aboord, and the next morning after, being the 25. of Iune, we waied anker, and departed from Santa Cruz.

The seuen and twentieth we came to anker at Cottea,[4] where we found the pinnesse riding, at our comming.

The 28. we waied anker at Cottea, and presently came to anker at S. Iohns in Musketas Bay,[5] where we spent three daies vnprofitably in taking in freshe water, spending in the meane time more beere, then the quantitie of the water came vnto.

Iulie.

The first[6] we waied anker at "Muskitoes Baye,[7] where were left behind two Irish men of our companie, Darbie Glauen,[8] and

"Musketas Baye, is a harbour vpon the South side of S. Iohns Island, where we take in fresh water.

[1] The night of 23/24 June.

[2] Vieques Island, north-west of St Croix, and south-eastward of Puerto Rico (*West Indies pilot*, II, 189–59).

[3] 'S. Iohn' (Hakluyt, III (1600), 281), San Juan de Puerto Rico.

[4] A small island off the south coast of Puerto Rico: Ratones, Caribe or Maria Langa (see Cotesa, p. 180 above).

[5] 'Musketos' (Hakluyt, III (1600), 281), i.e. Tallaboa Bay (cp. p. 181 above).

[6] 'The first day' (Hakluyt, III (1600), 281), 1 July.

[7] 'Musketoes Bay' (Hakluyt, III (1600), 281).

[8] The Darby Glande of the 1585–6 colony (p. 195 above). For his own story of this episode and his subsequent career see pp. 834–8 below, though there is no reason to believe him when he says that on this occasion he was impressed as a colonist. Elizabeth Glane (p. 541 below) may, conceivably, have been his wife.

Denice Carrell,[1] bearing along the coast of S. Iohns, till euening, at which time we fell with Rosse Baye.[2] At this place Fernando had promised wee should take in salt, and had caused vs before, to make and prouide as many sackes for that purpose, as we could. The Gouernour also, for that he vnderstoode there was a Towne in the bottome of the Baye, not farre from the salt hils, appointed thirtie shotte, ten pikes, and ten targets, to man the pinnesse, and to goe a land for salt.[3] Fernando[4] perceauing them in a readines, sent to the Gouernour, vsing great perswasions with him, not to take in salt there, saying that he knewe not well, whether the same were the place or not: also, that if the pinnesse went into the Bay, she could not without great danger come backe, till the next day at night, and that if in the meane time any storme should rise, the Admirall were in danger to be cast away. Whilest he was thus perswading, he caused the lead to be cast, and hauing craftily brought the shippe in three fathome, and a halfe water, he suddenly began to sweare, and teare God in peeces, dissembling great danger, crying to him at the helme, beare vp hard, beare vp hard: so we went off, and were disappointed of our salt, by his meanes.[5]

"A pleasant and fruitfull Countrey, lying on the west ende of S. Iohns Island where groweth plentie of Oringes, Lemmons, Plantyns, and Pynes.

The next day, sailing along the West ende of S. Iohns, the Gouernour determined to goe a land in S. Germans "Baye,[6] to gather yong plants of Oringes, Pines,[7] Mameas, and Platonos,[8] to

[1] Denis Carroll is the only other certain Irishman among the intending settlers, though Thomas Butler and James Lasie may also have been of Irish origin. The presence of an Irish group might point, very slightly, towards White having connexions in Ireland.

[2] Rojo Bay was either Sucia Bay to the east of Cape Rojo or Salinas Bay to the west, between Point Aguila and Cape Rojo (cp. *West Indies pilot*, II, 38, 41; p. 184 above).

[3] Compare the salt-taking episode in 1585 (pp. 184–5, 228–9 above) in which White had taken part (pp. 404–5).

[4] 'Ferdinando' (Hakluyt, III (1600), 281), and elsewhere.

[5] Like so many of the anti-Fernandez episodes this is rather inconclusive.

[6] Boqueron Bay, the first sizeable inlet on the west coast, entered between Point Guaniquilla and Point Melones (*West Indies pilot*, II, 38, 40–1).

[7] Pineapples, cp. p. 407.

[8] 'Plantanos' (Hakluyt, III (1600), 282), both forms very near the Spanish *platáno, plántano* (p. 408 see above).

set at Virginia, which we knewe might easily be had, for that they growe neere the shoare, and the places where they grewe, well knowen to the Gouernour,[1] and some of the planters: but our Simon denied it, saying: he would come to an anker at Hispaniola, and there lande the Gouernour, and some other of the Assistants, with the pinnesse, to see if he could speake with his friend Alanson,[2] of whome he hoped to be furnished both of cattell, and all such thinges as wee woulde haue taken in at S. Iohns: but hee meant nothing lesse, as it plainely did appeare to vs afterwards.

The next day after, being the third of Iulie, wee sawe Hispaniola,[3] and bare with the coast all that day, looking still when the pinnesse should be prepared to goe for the place where Fernando his friend Alanson was: but that day passed, and we sawe no preparation for landing in Hispaniola.

The 4. of Iulie, sailing along the coast of Hispaniola, vntill the next day at noone, and no preparation yet seene for the staying there, we hauing knowledge that we were past the place where Alanson dwelt, and were come with Isabella:[4] hereupon Fernando was asked by the Gouernour, whether he meant to speake with Alanson, for the taking in of cattell, and other things, according to his promise, or not: but he answered, that he was now past the place, and that Sir Walter Ralegh tolde him, the French Ambassador[5] certified him, that the king of Spaine had sent for Alanson into Spaine:[6] wherefore he thought him dead, and

[1] Since he had gathered them and made drawings of them before in 1585 (pp. 407–8). This is another small but telling pointer in identifying John White the painter with the governor.

[2] Apparently called Alençon or something similar. The French had been well established in the Hispaniola trade, but we do not know that Grenville's success in 1585 was due to his French contacts.

[3] Crossing the Mona Channel and then following the eastern shore of the island.

[4] Grenville in 1585 had put in at Puerto de Plata and Isabela (pp. 185–7 above).

[5] Evidently Chateauneuf, as Mauvissière had probably left before any such news could have reached him: if so, the ambassador had somewhat changed his attitude towards Raleigh (cp. pp. 474–5 above).

[6] Philip's reactions to the news that trading was taking place had been sharp and apparently led to clearing the French merchants from Hispaniola, at least for the time being (cp. pp. 758–9 below).

that it was to no purpose to touch there in any place, at this voyage.

The next day, we left sight of Hispaniola, and haled off for Virginia, about 4. of the clocke in the afternoone.

The sixt of Iulie, wee came to the Islande Caycos,[1] wherein Fernando saide were two salt pondes, assuring vs if they were drie, wee might finde salt to shift with, vntill the next supplie, but it prooued as true as the finding[2] of sheepe at Beake.[3] In this Island, whilest Ferdinando solaced himself a shoare, with one of the company,[4] in part of the Island, others spent the latter part of that day in other parts of the Island, some to seeke the salt ponds, some fowling, some hunting Swannes, whereof we caught many. The next daye, earely in the morning we waied anker, leauing Caycos, with good hope, the[5] first lande that wee sawe next, should be Virginia.

About the 16. of Iuly, we fell with the maine of Virginia, which Simon Fernando tooke to be the Island of Croatoan, where we came to an anker,[6] and rode there two or three daies: but finding himselfe deceaued, he waied, and bare along the coast, where in the night, had not Captaine Stafforde bene more carefull in looking out, then our Simon Fernando, wee had beene all cast away vpon the breache, called the Cape of Feare,[7] for wee were come within two cables length vpon it: such was the carelesnes, and ignorance of our Master.

The two and twentieth of Iulie, we arriued safe at Hatoraske,[8] where our shippe and pinnesse ankered: the Gouernour went

[1] The vessels probably sailed north through the Silver Bank, and thence northwest with the Antilles Current. The first sizeable island in the Caicos group they would encounter would thus be East Caicos.

[2] 'as finding' (Hakluyt, III (1600), 282).

[3] 'Baque' (Hakluyt, III (1600), 282); Vieques I.

[4] One of the women settlers? [5] 'that the' (Hakluyt, III (1600), 282).

[6] 'to anker' (Hakluyt, III (1600), 282).

[7] As is shown below (pp. 848, 868), White was aware of the existence of a cape in the position of the modern Cape Fear, but he called what we now know as Cape Lookout 'Cape Feare'. His story of this landing would fit in with a position between the two capes, and on the Banks.

[8] 'Hatorask' (Hakluyt, III (1600), 282), formerly Port Ferdinando (pp. 863–4).

aboord the pinnesse, accompanied with fortie of his best men, intending to passe vp to Roanoake foorthwith,[1] hoping there to finde those fifteene Englishmen, which Sir Richard Greenuill[2] had left there the yeere before, with whome he meant to haue conference, concerning the state of the Countrey, and Sauages, meaning after he had so done, to returne againe to the fleete, and passe along the coast, to the Baye of Chesepiok,[3] where we intended to make our seate and forte, according to the charge giuen vs among other directions in writing, vnder the hande of Sir Walter Ralegh:[4] but assoone as we were put with our pinnesse from the shippe, a Gentleman by the meanes of Fernando, who was appointed to returne for England,[5] called to the sailers in the pinnesse, charging them not to bring any of the planters backe againe, but leaue[6] them in the Island, except the Gouernour, and two or three such as he approoued, saying that the Summer was farre spent,[7] wherefore hee would land all the planters in no other place. Vnto this were all the sailers, both in the pinnesse, and shippe, perswaded by the Master, wherefore it booted not the Gouernour to contend with them,[8] but passed to Roanoake, and the same night, at Sunne

[1] The pinnace, probably commanded by Edward Stafford, was evidently at least as well suited, for sailing in the Sounds as that of 1585–6 (cp. pp. 190, 256).

[2] 'Grinuile' (Hakluyt, III (1600), 282). It will be remembered that Diaz gave the number originally landed as eighteen (p. 791).

[3] Hakluyt (III (1600), 282) adds in the margin: 'An intent to plant in the Bay of Chesepiok'—an objective which Hakluyt had himself urged (pp. 493–4). White evidently expected Coffin and Chapman's party to remain after his own departure for Chesapeake Bay, and so would have left stores to enable them to do so. This part of Virginia would not in any case have come within the scope of the grant to White's company (cp. pp. 497–8 above).

[4] The fact that Raleigh issued the instructions personally indicates how directly responsible he remained for the conduct of the expedition and the oversight of the colony. No trace has, unfortunately, been found of any drafts or copies of such instructions.

[5] Is it Fernandez or the gentleman (or both) who was to return?

[6] 'to leaue' (Hakluyt, III (1600), 282).

[7] For privateering (with the Spanish fleet due to reach the Azores in August or September) rather than for sailing.

[8] White's story may betray a great lack of confidence in his own powers of leadership (which other passages in his narrative might be used to endorse), or it

set, went aland on the Island, in the place where our fifteene men were left, but we found none of them, nor any signe, that they had bene there, sauing onely we found the bones of one of those fifteene, which the Sauages had slaine long before.

The 23. of Iuly, the Gouernour, with diuers of his companie, walked to the North ende of the Island, where Master Ralfe Lane had his forte, with sundry necessarie and decent dwelling houses, made by his men about it the yeere before, where wee hoped to finde some signes, or certaine knowledge of our fifteene men. When we came thither, wee found the forte rased downe,[1] but all the houses[2] standing vnhurt, sauing the[3] neather roomes of them, and also of the forte,[4] were ouergrowen with Melons of diuers sortes,[5] and Deere within them, feeding on those Mellons: so we returned to our companie, without hope of euer seeing any of the fifteene men liuing.

The same day order was giuen, that euery man should be imploied for the repairing of those houses, which we found standing, and also to make other newe Cottages, for such as shoulde neede.[6]

may reflect either his personal preference for Roanoke Island and its surroundings as site for a colony or his confidence that he could get to Chesapeake Bay with the colonists in any event.

[1] Mr J. C. Harrington's investigations, and his restoration of the surrounding earthwork (see pp. 905–9), did not reveal any traces of a palisade. Without it the fortification would not easily be defensible by such a small garrison. The fort that was 'rased' was the earthwork and not the building inside it, as is made clear below. But the fort building was most probably damaged by fire (cp. p. 528 below).

[2] The indications, such as they are (cp. pp. 282, 902 above), suggest that the houses erected by Lane's colonists lay between the fort and the Indian village then situated at North-west Point (p. 862). There is little precise evidence on the structure of the houses, except that they had an upper storey (cp. p. 902 below).

[3] 'that the' (Hakluyt, III (1600), 283).

[4] The fort building inside the earthworks. Apart from being higher, larger and somewhat stouter, there is no reason to believe it differed substantially from the houses (cp. pp. 903–10 below).

[5] Probably vines of various kinds, but perhaps including pumpkins and gourds gone wild from the settlers' and the Indians' gardens (cp. pp. 279, 342, 530).

[6] Under Lane only the principal men in the colony had houses of their own. Now, the family make-up of part of the new colony required more individual

The 25. our Flie boate, and the rest of our planters, arriued, all safe at Hatoraske,[1] to the great ioye, and comfort of the whole companie: but the Master of our Admirall, Fernando grieued greatly at their safe comming: for he purposely left them in the Baye of Portingall, and stole away from them in the night, hoping that the Master therof, whose name was Edward Spicer,[2] for that he neuer had beene in Virginia, would hardly finde the place, or els being left in so dangerous a place as that was, by meanes of so many men of warre, as at that time were aboord,[3] they should surely be taken, or slaine: but God disappointed his wicked pretenses.

The eight and twentieth, George Howe,[4] one of our twelue Assistants was slaine by diuers Sauages, which were come ouer to Roanoake, either of purpose to espie our companie, and what number we were,[5] or els to hunt Deere, whereof were many in the Island. These Sauages beeing secretly hidden among high reedes, where oftentimes they finde the Deere asleepe, and so kill them, espied our man wading in the water alone, almost naked, without any weapon, saue onely a smal forked sticke, catching Crabs therewithall, and also being strayed two miles from his companie,

housing. White's use of the word cottages, to distinguish the new houses from those of Lane's colony, would suggest that they were smaller, single-storey erections, probably of a very temporary character.

[1] Having kept as good time as the other vessels (cp. pp. 517–22).

[2] His name is added in the margin in Hakluyt, III (1600), 283. For his subsequent fate see p. 612 below.

[3] Corrected to 'abroad' (Hakluyt, III (1600), 283). Drake was still operating off the coasts of Spain and Portugal at this time. This particular charge makes little sense. If Fernandez wished to take prizes, either on the way out or on the way home, an additional vessel would normally be an asset rather than a handicap as a single ship even with a pinnace found it difficult to make many captures. The unnamed captain of the fly-boat was evidently unwilling or unable to contest Fernandez's predominance.

[4] For Howe see p. 540.

[5] It will be remembered (p. 790) that Grenville in 1586 had the greatest difficulty in locating any Indians at all. It may well have been their absence for some considerable time which lulled the 1586 settlers into a false sense of security. They probably came down the westerly shore of the island, the side from which the Indians could, by means of a shallow, islet-studded sound—now Croatan Sound (see p. 862)—most easily approach Roanoke Island.

shotte[1] at him in the water, where they gaue him sixeteene wounds with their arrowes: and after they had slaine him with their woodden swordes, beat[2] his head in peeces, and fled ouer the water to the maine.

On the thirtieth of Iulie, Master Stafford, and twentie of our men, passed by water[3] to the Island of Croatoan, with Manteo, who had his mother, and many of his kinred, dwelling in that Island,[4] of whome we hoped to vnderstande some newes of our fifteene men, but especially to learne the disposition of the people of the Countrey towards vs, and to renew our olde friendshippe with them. At our first landing, they seemed as though they would fight with vs: but perceauing vs begin to marche with our shot towards them, they turned their backes, and fled. Then Manteo their countreyman, called to them in their owne language, whom, assoone as they heard, they returned, and threwe away their bowes, and arrowes, and some of them came vnto vs, embracing and entertaining vs friendly, desiring vs not to gather or spill any of their corne, for that they had but little. We answered them, that neither their corne, nor any other thing of theirs, should be diminished by any of vs, and that our comming was onely to renew the olde loue, that was betweene vs, and them, at the first, and to liue with them as brethren, and friendes: which answere seemed to please them well, wherefore they requested vs to walke vp to their Towne, who there feasted vs after their manner, and desired vs earnestly, that there might be some token or badge giuen them of vs, whereby we might know them to be our friendes, when we met them any where out of the Towne or Island. They tolde vs

[1] 'and shot' (Hakluyt, III (1600), 283).

[2] 'they beat' (ibid.); cp. pp. 112, 369.

[3] In the pinnace and probably inside the Banks to the Chacandepeco inlet at the northern end of Croatoan island, just above the modern Cape Hatteras (pp. 865–6).

[4] This passage is the best evidence that the Croatoan people formed a distinct tribe and had a fairly substantial population on the island. The approximate site of their main village is discussed below (p. 866). White said later that Manteo was born on Croatoan Island (p. 616).

further, that for want of some such badge, diuers of them were hurt the yeere before, beeing founde out of the Island by Master Lane his companie,[1] whereof they shewed vs one, which at that very instant laye lame, and had lien of that hurt euer since: but they said, they knew our men mistooke them, and hurt them in steade of Winginoes[2] men, wherefore they held vs excused.

August.

The next day, we had conference further with them, concerning the people of Secota, Aquascogoc, & Pomiock,[3] willing them of Croatoan, to certifie the people of those townes, that if they would accept our friendship, we would willingly receaue them againe, and that all vnfriendly dealings past on both partes, should be vtterly forgiuen, and forgotten. To this the chiefe men of Croatoan[4] answered, that they would gladly doe the best they could, and within seuen daies, bring the Weroances[5] and chiefe Gouernours of those townes with them, to our Gouernour at Roanoak, or their answere. We also vnderstoode of the men of Croatoan, that our man Master Howe, was slaine by the remnant of Winginoes[6] men, dwelling then at Dasamongueponke,[7] with whom Winchese[8]

[1] Evidently a skirmish additional to those mentioned by Lane (pp. 284–8 above, cp. p. 381).

[2] 'Winginos' (Hakluyt, III (1600), 283). The attack must thus have taken place on 31 May or 1 June in the previous year (p. 288 above).

[3] 'Secotan'; 'Pomeiok' (Hakluyt, III (1600), 283). This passage indicates a continuing alliance between the Secotan tribe and the Roanoke and other groups situated on or near Pamlico Sound, but does not strengthen Dr Mook's case that the latter formed part of the Secotan tribe (see pp. 100, 111, 870).

[4] It is not impossible that Manteo's mother was chieftainess of the Croatoan tribe (cp. pp. 526, 616 above), especially as this reference to the consent of the chief men, without reference to the chief, is rather unusual.

[5] 'Wiroances' (Hakluyt, III (1600), 283). It will be noted that White avoids the term 'king' for the chiefs of tribes, a term which Barlowe and Lane had preferred (cp. pp. 98–9, 257).

[6] 'Winginos' (Hakluyt, III (1600), 283).

[7] 'Dasamonguepeuk' (Hakluyt, III (1600), 283), and below. There is no doubt that this village had been ruled by Wingina during his lifetime.

[8] 'Wanchese' (Hakluyt, III (1600), 283), the Indian who had been with Manteo in England 1584–5 but who had subsequently gone over to Wingina, to whose tribe he apparently belonged (p. 280 above).

kept companie: and also we vnderstood by them of Croatoan, how that the 15. Englishmen left at Roanoak the yeere before, by Sir Richard Greenuill,[1] were suddenly set vpon, by 30. of the men of Secota, Aquascogoc, and Dasamongueponke, in manner following. They conueied themselues secretly behind the trees, neere the houses, where our men carelesly liued: and hauing perceaued that of those 15. they could see but 11. onely, two of those Sauages appeared to the 11. Englishmen, calling to them by friendly signes, that but two of their chiefest men should come vnarmed to speake with those two Sauages, who seemed also to be vnarmed. Wherefore two of the chiefest of our Englishmen,[2] went gladly to them: but whilest one of those Sauages traitorously embraced one of our men, the other with his sword of wood, which he had secretly hidden vnder his mantell,[3] stroke him on the head, and slewe him, and presently the other eight and twentie Sauages shewed themselues: the other Englishman perceauing this, fled to his companie, whome the Sauages pursued with their bowes, and arrowes, so fast, that the Englishmen were forced to take the house, wherein all their victuall, and weapons were:[4] but the Sauages foorthwith set the same on fire,[5] by meanes whereof, our men were forced to take vp such weapons as came first to hand, and without order to runne foorth among the Sauages, with whome they skirmished aboue an howre. In this skirmish, another of our men was shotte into the mouth with an arrowe, whereof he[6] died: and also one of the Sauages was shot into the side by one of our men, with a wild

[1] 'Grinuile' (Hakluyt, III (1600), 283. This story is sufficiently detailed and circumstantial to make it almost certain that at the time these events took place the number of men was 15, though for those actually landed by Grenville Diaz's figure of 18 is still possible.

[2] Since the party was led by Coffin and Chapman (p. 791), it is probable that one or both are concerned in this episode.

[3] It was therefore a rather unusually long mantle (cp. pp. 418–19).

[4] This house was probably that inside the old fort perimeter—the fort—and was evidently used as a storehouse and headquarters. It is possible, however, that it was outside the fortifications.

[5] The ease with which this was done may suggest that it had been thatched. It need not have been totally destroyed, cp. p. 282 above.

[6] 'where hee' (Hakluyt, III (1600), 284).

fire arrowe,[1] whereof he died presently. The place where they fought, was of great aduantage to the Sauages, by meanes of the thicke trees, behinde which the Sauages through their nimblenes, defended themselues, and so offended our men with their arrowes, that our men being some of them hurt, retired fighting to the water side, where their boate lay,[2] with which they fled towards Hatorask. By that time they had rowed but a quarter of a mile, they espied their foure fellowes comming from a creeke thereby,[3] where they had bene to fetch Oysters:[4] these foure they receaued into their boate, leauing Roanoake, and landed on a little Island[5] on the right hand of our entrance into the harbour of Hatorask, where they remained a while, but afterward departed, whither, as yet we knowe not.[6]

Hauing nowe sufficiently dispatched our busines at Croatoan, the same day wee departed friendly, taking our leaue, and came aboord the fleete at Hatoraske.

The eight of August, the Gouernour hauing long expected the comming of the Weroanses of Pomioake, Aquascoquos, Secota, and Dasamongueponke,[7] seeing that the seuen daies were past, within which they promised to come in, or to send their answers by the men of Croatoan,[8] and no tidings of them heard, being certainly also informed by those men of Croatoan, that the

[1] This is the only reference to the Englishmen using bows (cp. p. 131 above). We hear of 'bows for throwing fiery balls'—probably of this sort—but also of 'arrows for shooting from musketry' (see C. J. Ffoulkes, *Inventory and survey of the armouries of the Tower of London*, I (1916), 66).

[2] On the Roanoke Sound side, since the Indians would have come in across Croatan Sound.

[3] Probably the creek noted below, p. 532.

[4] For Hariot's remarks on oysters, see pp. 361, 367–8 above.

[5] For this island, lying between Port Lane and Port Ferdinando, see p. 863 below.

[6] Their disappearance was the second in the story so far, three of Lane's men having been left behind (p. 307 above), and not heard of again after June 1586.

[7] 'the Wiroances of Pomeiok, Aquasquos, Secota, and Dasamonguepeuke' (Hakluyt, III (1600), 284, as also below).

[8] The arrangement was that the members of the Croatoan tribe would bring either the others or messages from them (cp. p. 327).

remnant of Wingino[1] his men, which were left aliue, who dwelt at Dasamongueponke, were they which had slaine George Howe, and were also at the driuing of our eleuen Englishmen from Roanoake,[2] he thought to differre the reuenging[3] thereof no longer. Wherefore the same night, about midnight, he passed ouer the water, accompanied with Captaine Stafford,[4] and 24. men, wherof Manteo was one, whome wee tooke with vs to be our guide to the place where those Sauages dwelt, where he behaued himselfe toward vs as a most faithfull English man.

The next day, being the ninth of August, in the morning so earely, that it was yet darke, wee landed neere the dwelling place of our enemies, and very secretly conueyed our selues through the woods,[5] to that side, where we had their houses betweene vs and the water: and hauing espied their fire, and some sitting about it, we presently sette on them: the miserable soules herewith amased, fledde into a place of thicke reedes, growing fast by, where our men perceauing them, shotte one of them through the bodie with a bullet, and therewith wee entred the reedes, among which wee hoped to acquite their euill doing towards vs, but wee were deceaued, for those Sauages were our friendes, and were come from Croatoan, to gather the corne, and fruite of that place, because they vnderstoode our enemies were fledde immediatly after they had slaine George Howe, and for haste had left all their corne, Tabacco, and Pompions standing in such sorte, that all had beene deuoured of the birdes, and Deere, if it had not beene gathered in time: but they had like to haue paide deerely for it: for it was so darke, that they beeing naked, and their men and women apparelled all so like others,[6] we knewe not but that they were all

[1] 'Wingina' (Hakluyt, III (1600), 284).

[2] 'Roanoak' (Hakluyt, III (1600), 284). More precisely the number was thirteen.

[3] 'deferre the reuenge' (Hakluyt, III (1600), 284).

[4] Again taking the pinnace.

[5] I.e. to the woods just behind Manns Harbor, the approximate site of the village (see p. 869 below).

[6] Compare the general similarity in the dress of the sexes in White's group drawings, pp. 368–9.

men: and if that one of them, which was a Weroans wife, had not had her childe at her backe,[1] she had beene slaine in steede of a man, and as happe was, another Sauage knewe Master Stafford, and ranne to him, calling him by his name, whereby he was saued. Finding our selues thus disappointed of our purpose, wee gathered all the corne, Pease, Pumpions, and Tabacco, that we found ripe, leauing the rest vnspoiled, and tooke Menatoan[2] his wife, with the yong childe, and the other Sauages with vs ouer the water to Roanoak. Although the mistaking of these Sauages somewhat grieued Manteo, yet he imputed their harme to their owne follie, saying to them, that if their Weroans had kept their promise in comming to the Gouernour, at the day appointed, they had not knowen that mischance.

The 13. of August, our Sauage Manteo, by the commandement of Sir Walter Ralegh, was christened in Roanoak,[3] and called Lord therof, and of Dasamongueponke,[4] in reward of his faithfull seruice.

The 18. Elenora,[5] daughter to the Gouernour, and wife to Ananias Dare, one of the Assistants,[6] was deliuered of a daughter

[1] For the carrying position probably adopted see p. 420.

[2] He is, apart from Manteo, the only member of the Croatoan tribe to be named. He was evidently a prominent person in the tribe.

[3] The christening of Manteo is the first recorded admission of a North American Indian to the Church of England (that at Bideford the following year (p. 495) being the second). It implied the presence possibly of a ship's chaplain, which the *Lion* might have carried. There is no indication that there was a clergyman among the settlers.

[4] This meant, in theory, that Raleigh, assuming proprietorial and feudal rights over 'discovered' Virginia, was installing Manteo as his feudal sub-tenant in the place which had formerly been occupied by Wingina. What this may have meant to Manteo, despite his three years with the English, is far from clear, but the policy was a continuation of that pursued by Lane. A significant point was that no land-reservation was made in favour of the settlers, since they were expected to claim their holdings on Chesapeake Bay (cp. p. 523 above). There may have been an arrangement with Manteo for keeping on a holding party at the fort on Roanoke Island (on the assumption that Grenville's settlers were there and would remain there), so that Port Ferdinando could be retained as a port of call for English vessels. There appears little doubt that Manteo was intelligent (pp. 37, 119, 232, 371 above), but that he was as pliable as the English presumed may be left open to doubt.

[5] 'Elenor' (Hakluyt, III (1600), 284).

[6] Cp. pp. 539.

in Roanoak, and the same was christened there the Sunday following,[1] and because this childe was the first[2] Christian borne in Virginia, she was named Virginia. By this time our shippes had vnlanded the goods and victuals of the planters,[3] and began to take in wood, and fresh water, and to newe calke and trimme them for England:[4] the planters also prepared their letters, and tokens,[5] to send backe into England.

Our two shippes, the Lyon, and the Flieboate, almost ready to depart, the 21. of August,[6] there arose such a tempest at northeast,[7] that our Admirall then riding out of the harbour, was forced to cut his cables, and put to Sea, where he laye beating off and on, sixe dayes before hee coulde come to vs againe, so that wee feared hee had beene cast away, and the rather, for that at the tyme that the storme tooke them, the moste, and best of their Saylers, were left aland.[8]

At this time some controuersies rose betweene the Gouernour, and Assistants,[9] about choosing two out of the twelue Assistants,

[1] 18 August was a Monday and the Sunday following the 24th.

[2] The child Harvie (p. 542 below) was probably born between the 24th and 27th, since he (or she) was not christened at the same time.

[3] The pinnace, with the ships' boats which were being left behind, evidently acted as a tender to convey goods from Port Ferdinando to the creek near the fort site (cp. pp. 526, 615, 862 below).

[4] Timber was needed for fuel on the voyage. It was also a useful commercial cargo (cp. for cypress and cedar pp. 95, 97, 363–4). It is not very likely that the ships needed to be careened at Port Ferdinando, but they would have been brought to (or near) the slip in order, once they were unloaded, to be 'rummaged', i.e. to have their bilges cleaned.

[5] Keepsakes for their friends and relatives. None of the letters White brought back have been found.

[6] By implication, the pinnace was not to sail with them. Had Captain Edward Stafford gone ahead with her, or had she been left with the colonists? Cp. pp. 505, 534, 547–8, 615.

[7] This was a danger-point for vessels lying off the Banks, since they were very likely to drive ashore or on to one of the capes or their attendant shoals.

[8] White may here be implying that Fernandez returned only because he would not have had enough men to work his ship: otherwise the return of the *Lion* might indicate that he was not as hostile to the settlement as White makes out.

[9] Lacking the full document of 7 January 1587 it is impossible to say whether the respective authority to be exercised by the governor and assistants was set out in detail. Normally, the head of a company (or expedition) was expected to take the advice of his assistants (or council of war), but did not invariably do so.

which should goe backe as factors for the companie into England:[1] for euery one of them refused, saue onely one, which all the other thought not sufficient: but at length, by much perswading of the Gouernour, Christopher Cooper onely agreed to goe for England: but the next day, through the perswasion of diuers of his familiar friendes, he changed his minde, so that now the matter stoode as at the first.

The next day, the 22. of August, the whole companie, both of the Assistants, and planters, came to the Gouernour, and with one voice requested him to returne himselfe into England, for the better and sooner obtaining of supplies, and other necessaries for them: but he refused it, and alleaged many sufficient causes, why he would not: the one was, that he could not so suddenly returne backe againe, without his great discredite, leauing the action, and so many, whome he partly had procured through his perswasions,[2] to leaue their natiue Countrey, and vndertake that voyage, and that some enemies to him, and the action[3] at his returne into England, would not spare to slander falsely both him, and the action, by saying he went to Virginia, but politikely, and to no other ende, but to leade so many into a Countrey, in which he neuer meant to stay himselfe, and there to leaue them behind him. Also he alleaged, that seing they intended to remoue 50. miles further vp into the maine presently,[4] he being then absent, his

[1] There was obvious need for the company to have factors in England, but, if the argument on pp. 539–40 is sound, three of the twelve assistants had already been left behind for this purpose. If, as White says, though with some ambiguity (p. 523), Fernandez had already been designated to return, the urgent anxiety of the planters to send two of their leaders is not quite clear. Fernandez would at least know of their deficiencies: was it he whom White means in the next sentence as 'thought not sufficient'? If so, this would reinforce White's picture of him as unreliable.

[2] Thus White would appear to have been personally responsible for at least a substantial part in the recruitment of the settlers.

[3] Without knowing something of White's position in England we can say nothing about his personal enemies, but from Hariot's picture of the situation it is quite probable that he, as one of the supporters of continued colonization, had won the dislike of a number of Lane's men who had turned against the scheme.

[4] Hakluyt added in the margin, 'Their meaning to remove 50 miles into the countrey' (III (1600), 285). The precise implications of this statement are very

stuffe and goods, might be both spoiled, and most of it[1] pilfered away in the carriage, so that at his returne, hee should be either forced to prouide himselfe of all such things againe, or els at his comming againe to Virginia, finde himselfe vtterly vnfurnished, whereof already he had found some proofe, beeing but once from them but three daies.[2] Wherefore he concluded, that he would not goe himselfe.

The next day, not onely the Assistants, but diuers others, as well women, as men, beganne to renewe their requests to the Gouernour againe, to take vppon him to returne into England for the supplie, and dispatch of all such thinges, as there were to be done,[3] promising to make him their bonde vnder all their handes, and seales, for the safe preseruing of all his goods for him at his returne to Virginia, so that if any part thereof were spoiled, or lost, they would see it restored to him, or his Assignes, whensoeuer the same should be missed, and demanded: which bonde, with a testimonie vnder their handes, and seales, they foorthwith made, and deliuered into his hands. The copie of the testimonie, I thought good to set downe.

May it please you, her Maiesties Subiects of England, wee your

difficult to assess. With three or four boats (together with a pinnace?), the colonists were mobile. They might easily have intended to move to the northern shore of Albemarle Sound, the fertility of which had long attracted attention (p. 213 above), though here the Indian population was fairly thick and not necessarily friendly (pp. 258, 272). Or, they may have intended to go to the Chowanook tribe where they might expect help and friendship from Menatonon, even possibly attempting to use his territory to reach the Chesapeake overland (cp. pp. 259–63 above). Little emphasis need be placed on the precise distance White mentions (he and Lane alike were rather vague on such matters), but we can say that White was far from certain that they would go away from Roanoke Island, or if they did that they would go to this specific place: otherwise his actions and reactions in 1590 would scarcely be intelligible.

[1] 'of them' (Hakluyt, III (1600), 285). For what became of White's things, see pp. 615–16 below.

[2] Presumably during the Dasemunkepeuc expedition (pp. 530–1) and not on the earlier visit to Croatoan (pp. 526–7).

[3] The impression that emerges is that the colonists had unlimited confidence in White's probity, but set comparatively little store on him as the leader of their pioneer settlement.

friendes and Countrey men, the planters in Virginia, doe by these presents let you, and euery of you to vnderstande, that for the present and speedie supplie of certaine our knowen, and apparent lackes, and needes, most requisite and necessarie for the good and happie planting of vs, or any other in this lande of Virginia, wee all of one minde, and consent, haue most earnestly intreated, and vncessantly requested Iohn White, Gouernour of the planters in Virginia, to passe into England, for the better and more assured helpe, and setting forward of the foresayde supplies: and knowing assuredly that he both can best, and will labour, and take paines in that behalfe for vs all, and hee not once, but often refusing it, for our sakes, and for the honour, and maintenance of the action, hath at last, though much against his will, through our importunacie, yeelded to leaue his gouernment, and all his goods among vs, and himselfe in all our behalfes to passe into Englande, of whose knowledge, and fidelitie in handling this matter, as all others, wee doe assure our selues by these presents, and will you to giue all credite thereunto. the fiue and twentieth of August.[1]

The Gouernour beeing at the last, through their extreame intreating, constrayned to returne into England, hauing then but halfe a daies respit to prepare him selfe for the same, departed from Roanoake, the seuen and twentieth of August in the morning: and the same daye about midnight, came aboord the Flie boate, who already had waied anker, and rode without the barre, the Admirall riding by them, who but the same morning was newly come thither againe.[2] The same day,[3] both the shippes waied anker, and sette saile for England: at this waying their ankers, twelue of the men which were in the Flieboate, were throwen from the Capestone,[4] which by meanes of a barre that brake, came so fast about

[1] 'the 25 of August 1587' (Hakluyt, III (1600), 285). This testimonial is the first formal document to survive which originated in an English settlement on the mainland of North America.

[2] After being taken to sea on account of a storm (p. 532 above).

[3] White's calendar is somewhat confused, unless he is using a sea day, running from noon to noon.

[4] Capstan.

vpon them, that the other two barres thereof stroke and hurt most of them so sore, that some of them neuer recouered it: neuerthelesse they assaied presently againe to waigh their anker, but being so weakened with the first fling, they were not able to weigh it, but were throwen downe, and hurt the seconde time. Wherefore hauing in all but fifteene men aboord,[1] and most of them by this infortunate[2] beginning so bruised, and hurt, they were forced to cut their Cable, and leese[3] their anker. Neuerthelesse, they kept companie with the Admirall, vntill the seuenteenth of September, at which time wee fell with Coruo, and sawe Flores.[4]

September.

The eighteenth, perceauing of all our fifteene men in the Flie boate, there remained but fiue, which by meanes of the former mischance, were able to stande to their labour: wherfore vnderstanding that[5] the Admirall meant not to make any haste for England, but linger[6] about the Islande of Tercera for purchase,[7] the Flie boate departed for Englande with letters,[8] where we hoped by the helpe of God to arriue shortly: but by that time wee had continued our course homeward, about twentie dayes, hauing had sometimes scarse, and variable windes, our fresh water also by leaking almost consumed, there arose a storme at Northeast, which

[1] A very small complement to sail a vessel of at least 100 tons (cp. pp. 179, 580 below).

[2] 'vnfortunate' (Hakluyt, III (1600), 286).

[3] Lose.

[4] It is probable that at the time the vessels left Portsmouth it was assumed that there would be, as usual, a concentration of privateers off the Azores in the hope of intercepting the Spanish fleet on its way home. In fact, after Drake's return to England at the end of June there seems to have been a lull (largely owing to preparations begun in England for defensive measures against the Armada). Consequently, Santa Cruz's expedition to the Azores in search of Drake (which kept him employed until October) enabled the American fleet to reach Spain in September unmolested by the English (Williamson, *Age of Drake*, pp. 302–3; Wright, *Further English voyages*, pp. lxviii–ix).

[5] 'labour: and that' (Hakluyt, III (1600), 286).

[6] 'to linger' (Hakluyt, III (1600), 286.)

[7] In hope of taking prizes.

[8] Those sent by the settlers (p. 532 above); probably also advance notice by White of his plans for collecting supplies.

for 6. dayes ceased not to blowe so exceeding, that we were driuen further in those 6. then wee could recouer in thirteene daies: in which time others of our saylers began to fall very sicke, and two of them dyed, the weather also continued so close, that our Master sometimes in foure daies together could see neither Sunne nor starre, and all the beuerage we could make, with stinking water, dregges of beere, and lees of wine which remained, was but 3. gallons, and therefore now we expected nothing but by famyne to perish at Sea.

October.

The 16. of October we made land, but we knew not what land it was, bearing in with the same land at that day: about Sunne set we put into a harbour, where we found a Hulke of Dublin, and a pynesse of Hampton [1] ryding, but we knew not as yet what place this was, neither had we any boate to goe a shoare,[2] vntill the pinnesse sent off their boate to vs with 6. or 8. men, of whom we vnderstood we were in Smewicke[3] in the west parts of Ireland: they also releeued vs presently with fresh water, wyne, and other fresh meate.

The 18. the Gouernour, and the Master ryd to Dingen Cushe,[4] 5. myles distant, to take order of the new[5] victualling of our Flye boate for England, and for reliefe of our sicke and hurt men, but within 4. dayes after the boatswane, the steward, and the boatswanes mate dyed aboord the flyeboate, and the 28. the Masters mate and two of our chiefe Saylers were brought sicke to Dingen.

[1] Southampton.

[2] All the ship's boats apparently having been left with the settlers.

[3] 'Smerwick' (Hakluyt, III (1600), 286), which adds in the margin 'Smerwick in the West of Ireland'. The harbour is on the north-west of the Dingle peninsula, co. Kerry.

[4] 'Dingen a Cushe' (Hakluyt, III (1600), 286), Dingle, on the south side of the peninsula, across which White rode.

[5] 'for the' (Hakluyt, III (1600), 286).

Nouember.

The first the Gouernour shipped him selfe in a ship called the Monkie,[1] which at that time was readie to put to Sea from Dingen for England, leauing the Flyeboat and all his company in Ireland, the same day we set sayle, and on the third day we fel with the Northside of the lands end, and were shut vp the Seuerne, but the next day we duobled the same, for Monts Bay.[2]

The 5. the Gouernour landed in England at Martasew,[3] neere Saint Michaels mount in Cornewall.

The 8. we arriued at Hampton, where we vnderstood that our consort the Admirall was come to Portsmouth, and had bene there three weekes before:[4] and also that Fernando the Master with all his company were not onely come home without any purchase, but also in such weaknesse by sicknes, and death of their cheefest men, that they were scarse able to bring their ship into the harbour, but were forced to let fall anker *with*out, which they could not way againe, but might all haue perished there, if a small barke by great hap had not come to them to helpe them. The names of the chiefe men that dyed are these, Roger Large, Iohn Mathew, Thomas Smith, and some other saylers, whose names I know not at the writing hereof. Anno Do*mini* 1587.[5]

[1] The *Monkey* was evidently bound for Southampton. White considered that he had done all he could for the unfortunate crew (of whom we hear nothing further) and that his most urgent task was to get to England to look after the settlers' interests.

[2] 'Mounts Bay' (Hakluyt, III (1600), 286).

[3] Marazion.

[4] I.e. had arrived about 17 or 18 October, a month after the fly-boat had parted from him (see also p. 547 below).

[5] The year is presumably that within which White completed his narrative, possibly before 31 December and certainly before 25 March 1588.

78. 1587.

THE NAMES OF THE COLONISTS[1]

The names of all the men, women and Children, which safely arriued in Virginia, and remained to inhabite there. 1587.

Anno Regni Reginae Elizabethae .29.

Iohn White [Governor].[2]	William Willes.
Roger Bailie [Assistant].[3]	Iohn Brooke.
Ananias Dare [Assistant].[4]	Cutbert White.[7]
Christopher Cooper [Assistant].	Iohn Bright.
Thomas Steuens [Assistant].	Clement Tayler.
Iohn Sampson [Assistant].[5]	William Sole.
Dyonis Haruie [Assistant].[6]	Iohn Cotsmur.

[1] Richard Hakluyt, *Principall navigations* (1589), pp. 770–1, collated with III (1600), 287 (VIII (1904), 420–3), where the order of the names has been altered. Internal evidence would suggest that only John White could have compiled the list in its present form. It may be suggested that he used as a basis a list drawn up before the settlers left England (forgetting to remove his own name, and those of George Howe and Simon Fernandez), to which he added the names of those born in Virginia, etc., before giving it to Hakluyt. No real evidence of the origin and social class of the settlers has yet been found (for White see pp. 40–7 above), but a close study of the distribution of sixteenth-century surnames may yet be found helpful. In view of the Portsmouth base of the expedition, it may be that an examination of surnames in Hampshire and the Isle of Wight would prove profitable. In contrast with Lane's colonists there do not appear to be any persons from outside the British Isles among those who remained. A small Welsh group seems probable, but an Anglo-Irish group is somewhat conjectural.

[2] Must be deducted from among those who remained.

[3] 'Baily' (Hakluyt, III (1600), 287).

[4] Husband of Elenor Dare, son-in-law of John White, and father of Virginia Dare. The name is also spelt Dayre, Darr or Darre (pp. 508, 511, 571). He may have had some connexion with the Dare family noticed in *The visitations of Norfolk...1563 and 1613*, ed. Walter Rye (Harleian Soc., XXXII (1891)), p. 93, Thomas Dare being described as of London and Norfolk, but no relationship has so far been established between him and Ananias Dare.

[5] Possibly the father or brother of the boy John Sampson, below.

[6] Sir James Harvey, ironmonger, was buried at St Dionys, Backchurch Street, in 1583, and, since Dionys was not a very common Christian name, this might suggest a relationship between them, though none has so far been established (*Index to the Remembrancia of the City of London*, p. 43; A. B. Beavan, *Aldermen of London*, II, 39).

[7] Possibly another relative of John White.

Roger Prat [Assistant].[1]
George Howe [Assistant].[2]
Simon Fernando [Assistant].[3]
Nicholas Iohnson.
Thomas Warner.
Anthony Cage.
Iohn Iones.[4]
Iohn Tydway.
Ambrose Viccars.[5]
Edmond English.
Thomas Topan.[6]
Henry Berrye.[7]
Richard Berrye.
Iohn Spendloue.
Iohn Hemmington.
Thomas Butler.[8]
Edward Powell.[9]
Humfrey Newton.
Thomas Colman.[10]
Thomas Gramme.[11]
Marke Bennet.
Iohn Gibbes.
Iohn Stilman.
Robert Wilkinson.
Peter Little.
Iohn Wyles.
Brian Wyles.[12]
George Martyn.
Hugh Pattenson.
Martyn Sutton.
Iohn Farre.
Iohn Bridger.
Griffen Iones.[13]
Richard Shaberdge.[14]

[1] Possibly the father or brother of the boy John Prat, below.

[2] 'How' (Hakluyt, III (1600), 287). Killed shortly after arrival (pp. 525–6 above) and to be deducted from those who remained at White's departure. He was probably the father of the boy George Howe (below).

[3] He did not, and was not intended to, remain (p. 523 above). John Nichols, William Fullwood and James Plat, the three remaining assistants, were apparently left to manage the company's supplies in England. Nichols was still active in 1589 (cp. p. 571).

[4] Either he or Griffen Jones (below) was probably the husband of Jane Jones (below). They may have formed part of a group of Welsh origin.

[5] Probably the husband of Elizabeth Viccars and father of the boy Ambrose Viccars (below).

[6] Possibly the husband of Audrey Tappan (below). The name may be Topping or Tapper.

[7] 'Berry' (Hakluyt, III (1600), 287).

[8] He could be of Anglo-Irish origin, though there were many English Butlers.

[9] Welsh? Probably the husband of Wenefrid Powell (below).

[10] Probably the husband of the woman Colman (below).

[11] Possibly a form of the Scottish Graeme or Graham.

[12] John and Brian Wyles may have been connected with William Willes (above), the name being possibly Willis.

[13] Probably Welsh. Either he or John Jones (above) was probably the husband of Jane Jones (below).

[14] 'Shabedge' (Hakluyt, III (1600), 287).

Iohn Burden.
Iames Hynde.
Thomas Ellis.[1]
William Browne.

Michael Myllet.
Thomas Smith.
Richard Kemme.
Thomas Harris.
Richard Tauerner.
Iohn Earnest.
Henry Iohnson.
Iohn Starte.
Richard Darige.
William Lucas.
Arnold Archard.[2]
Iohn Wright.[3]
Iames Lasie.[4]
Iohn Cheuen.
Thomas Hewet.
William Berde.[5]

Women.

Elyoner Dare.[6]
Margery Haruie.[7]
Agnes Wood.[8]
Wenefrid Powell.[9]
Ioyce Archard.[10]
Iane Iones.[11]
Elizabeth Glane.[12]
Iane Pierce.[13]
Audry Tappan.[14]
Alis Chapman.[15]
Emme Merrimoth.[16]

[1] Possibly the father or brother of the boy Robert Ellis (below).

[2] Probably the husband of Joyce Archard and father of the boy Thomas Archard (below).

[3] A man of this name was a member of the first colony (p. 196 above).

[4] Possibly Anglo-Irish, where the name Lacy was fairly common, though it could well be English. It is highly probable that he is the James Lacie of the 1585 settlement (p. 196 above), and the only member of Lane's colonists, apart from Wright, to remain with the 1587 settlers.

[5] This may be a form of Baird.

[6] Daughter of John White, wife of Ananias Dare, and mother of Virginia Dare (pp. 531–2).

[7] Probably the wife of Dyonis Harvie (above) and mother of the child Harvye (below).

[8] Probably a single woman.

[9] Probably the wife of Edward Powell (above).

[10] Probably the wife of Arnold Archard (above) and mother of Thomas Archard (below).

[11] Probably the wife of either John or Griffin Jones (above).

[12] She may, conceivably, have been the wife of Darby Glande (or Glaven) who deserted on Puerto Rico (pp. 519–20, 834–8).

[13] Probably a single woman.

[14] 'Audrey' (Hakluyt, III (1600), 287). Possibly the wife of Thomas Topan (above).

[15] Probably the wife of John Chapman.

[16] Probably a single woman.

William Dutton.
Morris Allen.
William Waters.
Richard Arthur.
Iohn Chapman.[1]
William Clement.

Robert Little.
Hugh Tayler.
Richard Wildye.
Lewes Wotton.
Michael Bishop.
Henry Browne.
Henry Rufoote.
Richard Tomkins.
Henry Dorrell.
Charles Florrie.
Henry Mylton.

Henry Payne.[2]
Thomas Harris.
Colman.[3]
Margaret Lawrence.
Ioan Warren.
Iane Mannering.
Rose Payne.[4]
Elizabeth Viccars.[5]

Boyes and Children.

Iohn Sampson.[6]
Robert Ellis.[7]
Ambrose Viccars.[8]
Thomas Archard.[9]
Thomas Humfrey.
Tomas Smart.
George Howe.[10]
Iohn Prat.[11]
William Wythers.

Children born in Virginia.

Virginia Dare.[12]
Haruye.[13]

[1] Conceivably a relative of the Chapman who headed the settlers of 1586 (p. 791 below), and probably husband of Alis Chapman (above).

[2] 'Paine' (Hakluyt, III (1600), 287).

[3] Her Christian name was evidently unknown to John White, but she was probably the wife of Thomas Colman (above).

[4] She, and the three before her, were probably single women.

[5] Probably the wife of Ambrose Viccars (above) and mother of the boy Ambrose Viccars (below).

[6] Probably the son of John Sampson (above).

[7] Possibly the son or brother of Thomas Ellis (above).

[8] Probably the son of Ambrose and Elizabeth Viccars (above).

[9] Probably the son of Arnold and Joyce Archard (above).

[10] 'How' (Hakluyt, III (1600), 287); probably the son of George Howe, killed by the Indians (pp. 525–6).

[11] Possibly the son or brother of Roger Prat (above).

[12] Daughter of Elenor and Ananias Dare and grand-daughter of John White (pp. 531–2).

[13] Probably the son (or conceivably the daughter, since no Christian name had come to White's knowledge) of Dyonis and Margery Harvie (above).

The elementary analysis given above, which is all that appears possible at

William Nicholes.[1]
Thomas Pheuens.

Sauages.

Iohn Borden. Manteo.[2]
Thomas Scot. Towaye.[3]

} That were in Englande and returned home into Virginia with them.[4]

79. 1587.

SIR GEORGE CAREY'S VENTURE TO THE WEST INDIES AND VIRGINIA

(*a*) 1587.[5] Sir George Carey sent out three ships; two of which took nothing, and the third took a prize and brought her into Bristol, worth 2000l.[6]

(*b*) Bristoll....[7]
Sir G. Carewe by y^e^ Swallowe—230. 18. 4[8]

present, suggests that there were fourteen families, comprising perhaps thirty-six people, among the settlers. It is curious that no girls, except Virginia Dare, are distinguished as such and that there is not more than one boy of the same surname. The implication (strengthened by the high proportion of unattached men) may well be that part of the family was, in a number of cases, left in England to be brought out later. The unattached boys and women are likely to have been servants, in some cases at least.

[1] 'Nichols' (Hakluyt, III (1600), 287); possibly a relative of John Nichols who remained in England (pp. 508, 571).

[2] It is most probable that he returned with Lane to England in Drake's fleet.

[3] He may well have accompanied Lane in 1586. It is just possible that he was the Indian caught by Grenville in 1586 (p. 790 below), but it is more likely that this was the 'Raleigh' who died in Bideford (p. 495 above).

[4] Final figures are, therefore, eighty-five men, less one dead (George Howe) and two returned (John White and Simon Fernandez), seventeen women and eleven children, making 113 brought from England and 110 left by White, plus two children born on Roanoke Island and two Indians, the total left behind being 114. White speaks above (p. 525) as if the remaining three assistants were also with him but this is apparently a slip.

[5] *Naval tracts of Sir William Monson*, ed. M. Oppenheim, II (Navy Records Society, 1902), 229. For the other notices of the voyage cp. pp. 769–70, 782–4, 835–6.

[6] Cp. p. 783.

[7] 'The *Queenes* custom of goods brought in by Commission of reprisall', Brit. Mus., Lansdowne MS 144, fo. 27 v. The year is not given, but the position of the item in the list makes 1587 a plausible date for it.

[8] At the 5% charged for poundage (leaving aside alternative or additional charges) this would give prize-goods valued at £4618. 6*s*. 8*d*.

80. 5 OCTOBER 1587.

LOANS BY THOMAS SMYTHE TO WILLIAM SANDERSON AND SIR WALTER RALEIGH[1]

(*a*) Bond and recognizance of Sir Walter Rawlegh of Colliton Rawlegh and William Sanderson of London, gentleman, with Thomas Smyth of London, armiger, and his heirs, in the sum of £1000, to be paid on the Feast of All Saints next [1 November 1587]. 5 October 1587. 29 Elizabeth.

The condition of the recognizance is that Sir Walter Rawlegh and William Sanderson shall pay Thomas Smyth the sum of £500 on the last day of May next [31 May 1588] at his house in Fanchurch Street, London, in discharge of the recognizance.

Thomas Smyth appeared to show discharge of the recognizance on 4 February, 33 Elizabeth [1591], and to have it vacated.

(*b*) Bond and recognizance between the same parties in the sum of £1000 to be paid on the feast of St Andrew the Apostle next [30 November 1587]. 5 October 1587. The condition is that they are to pay £500 on the last day of November 1588. Vacated 4 February 1591.

(*c*) Bond and recognizance between the same parties in the sum of £1000 to be paid at Christmas next [25 December 1587]. 5 October 1587.

The condition is that they shall pay £500 on the last day of May 1589. Vacated 5 February 1591.

[1] P.R.O., Close Roll, 29 Eliz., pt. 26, C 54/1277. There is no direct evidence that these sums, amounting to a loan of £1500 (as against a bond of £3000), were advanced by Customer Smythe for the Virginia enterprise though they may well have been. Smythe became an active partner in the project on 7 March 1589, and may be assumed to have had earlier contacts with it. Mr L. L. S. Lowe suggests that the vacating of the loans in 1591 may have been due to Smythe's failing health (he died in June 1591) and to his desire to clear up some of his affairs. (Mr Lowe completed in 1950 an Oxford B.Litt. thesis on Smythe which is the fullest authority on his life.) The assumption made here is that it was the elder Thomas Smythe, and not the younger (Sir Thomas Smythe, d. 1625), that was involved: the contrary assumption made in Quinn, *Raleigh and the British empire*, p. 120, appearing in retrospect less likely. For what is known of Sanderson's

81. [OCTOBER 1587.]

DEDICATION BY RICHARD HAKLUYT TO RALEIGH[1]

Sir, after that this historie, which had bene conceled many yeeres, was lately committed to print and published in France vnder your name by my learned friende *Master* Martine Basanier of Paris,[2] I was easilie enduced to turne it into English, vnderstanding that the same was no lesse gratefull to you here, then I know it to be acceptable to manie great & worthie persons there. And no maruell though it were verie welcome vnto you, & that you liked of the translation thereof, since no historie hetherto set foorth hath more affinitie, resemblance or conformitie with yours of Virginea, then this of Florida.[3] But calling to minde that you had spent more yeares in France than I,[4] and vnderstande the french better then my selfe, I foorthwith perceiued that you approued mine endeuour, not for any priuate ease or commoditie that thereby might redounde vnto you, but that it argued a singuler and especiall care you had of those, which are to be employed in your owne like enterprise, whom, by the reading of this my translation, you woulde haue forewarned and admonished aswell to beware of the grosse negligence in prouiding sufficiencie of victuals, the securitie, disorders, and mutinies that fell out among the french, with the great inconueniences that thereupon ensued, that by others mishaps

financial dealings with Raleigh, see pp. 576–8 below: these are the only examples so far found of him and Raleigh borrowing money in partnership.

[1] René de Laudonnière, *A notable historie containing foure voyages made by certayne French captaynes unto Florida*.... Translated out of French into English by Master Richard Hakluyt. 1587. Dedicatory epistle by Hakluyt to Raleigh, extracts. Reprinted in *Principal navigations*, III (1600), 301–3 (VIII (1904), 439–45); Taylor, *Hakluyts*, II, 372–8.

[2] As *L'histoire notable de la Floride*, see pp. 472–3 above.

[3] Hakluyt was especially concerned at this time to produce foreign material on North America in order to provide analogies, suggestions and warnings, as well as positive information, which could be used by the promoters of and participants in the Virginia ventures. He also took every opportunity to make propaganda for the Virginia projects and their sponsor Raleigh.

[4] Hakluyt had been in Paris, except for short intervals, since 1584: for Raleigh's residence in France cp. p. 489 above.

Other mens misfortune ought to be our warning.

they might learne to preuent and auoyde the like, as also might bee put in minde, by the reading of the manifolde commodities & great fertilitie of the places herein at large described & so nere neighbors vnto our colonies, that they might generally be awaked and stirred vp unto the diligent obseruation of euerie thing that might turne to the aduancement of the action, whereinto they are so cheerefully entred. Manie speciall pointes concerning the commodities of these parts, the accidentes of the French-mens gouernment therein, the causes of their good or bad successe, with the occasions of their abandoning one of their fortes, and the surprise of the other by the enimies are herein truely and faithfully recorded: Which because they be quoted by me in the margents, and reduced into a large alphabeticall table, which I have annexed to the ende of the worke, it shalbe needlesse to recken vp againe.[1] And that the rather, because the same with diuers other things of chiefest importance are liuely drawen in coulours at your no smale charges by the skilfull painter James Morgues, yet liuing in the Blacke-fryers in London[2] (whom Monsieur Chastillon then admirall of

[1] Sigs. R2–R4 v. The book was therefore intended to be taken as a work of ready reference by organizers and participants in expeditions to Virginia.

[2] Jacques Le Moyne de Morgues's little book, *La clef des champs... Anno. 1586. Imprimé aux Blackfriars, pour Jaques le Moyne, dit de Morgues paintre* (the two surviving, and imperfect, copies of which are Brit. Mus., C. 70, aa. 13–14, with hand-coloured illustrations), is the earliest dated record so far found of his residence in Blackfriars, though his presence, and that of his wife and child, is noted in a list which may be as early as 1582–3 (*Returns of aliens dwelling in the city and suburbs of London*, ed. R. E. G. and E. F. Kirk (Huguenot Society of London Publications, X (1902), II, 354)). It has a dedication to Lady Sidney, dated 26 March, but it was not entered in the Stationers' Register until 31 January 1587. It contains wood-cuts of European plants and animals, and with it is associated a group of drawings now in the Victoria and Albert Museum identified as his by Mr Spencer Savage ('The discovery of some of Jacques Le Moyne's botanical drawings', in *Gardener's Chronicle*, 3rd ser., LXXI (1922), 44), one of which is reproduced in colour by Mr Wilfrid Blunt, *The art of botanical illustration* (1950), pl. 7, and pp. 81–3, who believes them to have been drawn prior to 1572. Hakluyt is the authority for the spending of money by Raleigh on the Florida drawings. White used Le Moyne's map and two of his figures (p. 462). One of his original drawings survives (it is now in the possession of Mr James H. Hyde of New York, having been reproduced in colour in Ch. de la Roncière, *La Floride française* (Paris, 1928, pl. VIII)), while a photograph of an unlocated oil painting by him as

France sent thither with Laudonniere for that purpose) which was an eye-witnesse of the goodnes & fertilitie of those regions, & hath put downe in writing many singularities which are not mentioned in this treatise: which he meaneth to publish together with the purtraitures before it be long, if it may stand with your good pleasure & liking.[1] These foure voiages I knew not to whom I might better offer then to your selfe, & that for diuers iust considerations. First, for that as I haue said before, they were dedicated vnto you in french:[2] secondly because now foure times also you haue attempted the like vpon the selfe same coast neere adioyning:[3] thirdly in that you haue persed as farre vp into the maine & discouered no lesse secretes in the parts of your aboad, then the french did in the places of their inhabiting:[4] lastly considering you are now also readie (vpon the late returne of Captayne Stafforde[5] and

The chiefe things worthie obseruation in Florida are drawne in colours by Iames Morgues painter yet liuing in the Blacke Friers in London.

well as a drawing attributed to him, but, in fact, a later copy from an engraving, survive in the Bushnell Collection in the Peabody Museum, Harvard University. Though Henry Stevens says (*Thomas Hariot*, pp. 62–4) that two water-colours of his existed in the British Museum, they are not now known—though curiously enough they were, he said, of the subjects of the original in Mr Hyde's possession and of the photograph at Harvard (i.e. pls. 8 and 41 of De Bry, *America*, pt. ii (1591)).

[1] Raleigh, so far as we know, did nothing to facilitate publication, but, again probably, through Le Moyne's connexions with the Sidney family, they came to the attention of Theodor de Bry in 1587. He had come to England in 1587 and had been engaged to engrave on copper Thomas Lant's drawings of the funeral of Sir Philip Sidney. (The Brit. Mus. copy is headed *Here followeth the manner of the whole proceeding of his Funerall which was celebrated in S^t^ Paules on the 16 of Febr. 1586 . . . This worke was firste drawne and invented by Tho. Lant Gent, servant to the saide Ho: Knight, and graven in Copper by Derick Theodor de Brij in the Cittye of London. 1587*: for the defective Penshurst copy see H.M.C., *De L'Isle and Dudley MSS*, I, 273). De Bry attempted to buy a set of the drawings from Le Moyne, but he died before the bargain was made, and De Bry later managed to acquire them from his widow, so that Le Moyne provided ultimately the material for *America*, pt. ii (1591) (*q.v.*, sigs. ***3 v, 4 v; Taylor, *Hakluyts*, I, 42–4).

[2] See pp. 472–3 above. [3] 1584, 1585, 1586 (twice, or 1586 and 1587).

[4] The explorations made by the 1585–6 settlers in North Carolina and Virginia were more thorough and systematic than those of the French, so that Hakluyt is not exaggerating.

[5] It is suggested that the matter in brackets was inserted in the proof by Hakluyt in the autumn of 1587. Unless Stafford arrived at Portsmouth on the *Lion* about 18 October (p. 538), it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that he must have

good newes which hee brought you of the safe arriuall of your last colonie in their wished hauen)[1] to prosecute this action more throughly then euer. And here to speake somewhat of this your enterprise, I affirme, that if the same may speedily and effectually be pursued, it will prooue farre more beneficiall in diuers respects vnto this our relme, then the worlde, yea manie of the wiser sort, haue hitherto imagined:[2] The particuler commodities whereof are well knowen vnto your selfe and some fewe others, and are faithfully and with great iudgement committed to writing, as you are not ignorant, by one of your followers,[3] which remayned there a full twelue month with your worshipfully lieutenant *Master* Raph Lane in the diligent serch of the secretes of those countries. Touching the speedie and effectuall pursuing of your action, though I wote well it woulde demaunde a princes purse to haue it throughly followed without lingring,[4] yet am I of opinion, that you shall drawe the same before it bee long to be profitable and gainefull aswell to those of our nation there remaining, as to the marchants of England[5] that shall trade hereafter thither, partly by certaine

A collection of the commodities of Virginea.

preceded her in the pinnace. (Or was she left in Virginia? Cp. pp. 505, 532, 534, 615.) There is no need to challenge the date of 1 May (p. 552 below) as that on which Hakluyt finished this epistle, but the insertion could not have been made before late September, unless, of course, Hakluyt based it on a false report or rumour. The fact that Hakluyt may well have been in France by October (Parks, *Hakluyt*, pp. 249–50) adds a further complexity to the chronology.

[1] In fact, the colonists had been left not 'in their wished hauen' on Chesapeake Bay, but on Roanoke Island (pp. 523–35), which indicates that his news of Stafford's arrival was not accompanied with any detail.

[2] There had evidently been a good deal of discussion by Hakluyt and others about the products, mineral and vegetable, brought home in 1585 and 1586. Hakluyt is here giving his considered opinion that the evidence he has seen and that he has heard discussed convinces him of the validity of continuing the enterprises.

[3] The man was Thomas Hariot and the book *A briefe and true report*—this, whether it was written in May or in September 1587, being the earliest reference to it. The suggestion is made (p. 38 above) that it may have been originally intended as propaganda for the 1587 expedition, but was, for some reason, delayed too long even to help that being prepared for 1588.

[4] A continuation of his argument that state-sponsored or state-subsidized colonization was essential, set out in his *Discourse of western planting*.

[5] The merchants were brought, unavailingly, into the enterprises in 1589 (cp. pp. 570–1 below).

secrete commodities[1] already discouered by your servants, & partly by breeding of diuers sorts of beasts in those large & ample regions,[2] & plainting of such things in that warme climat as will best prosper there,[3] & our realme standeth most in need of. And this I find to haue bene the course that both the Spaniards and Portugals tooke in the beginnings of their discoueries and conquestes....[4] And if our men will follow their steps, by your wise direction I doubt not but in due time they shall reape no lesse commoditie and benefit. Moreouer there is none other likelihoode but that her Maiestie, which hath Christned and giuen the name to your Virginea, if neede require, will deale after the maner of honorable godmothers, which, seeing their gossops, not fully able to bring vp their children themselues, are wont to contribute to their honest education, the rather if they finde any towardliness or reasonable hope of goodnes in them....[5]

Meanes to raise benefit in newe discoueries vsed by the Spaniards and Portugals.

For as you may read in the verie last words of the relation of Newe Mexico extant now in english,[6] the maine lande, where

[1] Hariot still retains these 'secrete commodities' in his text as published in 1588 (p. 337 above).

[2] Hakluyt is emphasizing his consistency cp. Taylor, *Hakluyts*, II, 320–1. For what is known about experiments with livestock, 1585–7, see pp. 163, 501, 503. In fact, Roanoke Island and its neighbourhood was quite unsuitable for stock-raising (as were most parts of the shores of the Chesapeake as known to the English), while even the value of draught-animals was somewhat limited on the islands and around the Sounds. Milch-cows, pigs, hens and ducks were the only stock which would be of great value to colonists in these areas, in the early days at least.

[3] On Hakluyt's emphasis on the need to develop sub-tropical and Mediterranean-type crops see above, pp. 273, 324, and for what little is known of the experiments made, pp. 335–6.

[4] He then goes on to instance the introduction of ginger, sugar and cattle to the West Indian Islands and their exploitation for commerce, as the Portuguese did with sugar, vines and woad in the Atlantic Islands and elsewhere.

[5] Hakluyt thus, after stressing the need for state aid, endeavours to console Raleigh by suggesting that once colonization is shown to be fully possible and profitable the state will ultimately intervene, and in this he was a good prophet (though not necessarily a good business adviser).

[6] Hakluyt received with great eagerness the account of Espejo's New Mexico expedition of 1583, included in the *Itinerario de nueuo mundo* appended to an edition of Juan González de Mendoza, *Historia de los cosas mas notables de la China* (Q. G. Flamenco, Madrid, 1586), since it revealed the interior of North America

your last colonie meane to seate themselues, is replenished with many thousands of Indians, Which are of better wittes then those of Mexico and Peru, as hath beene found by those that haue had some triall of them: whereby it may be gathered that they will easilie embrace the Gospell, forsaking their idolatrie, wherein at this present for the most part they are wrapped & intangled.[1] A wise Philosopher noting the sundry desires of diuers men, writeth, that if an oxe be put into a medow he will seeke to fill his bellie with grasse, if a storke be cast in she will seeke for snakes,

The aptnes of the people in the mayne of Virginea to embrace Christianitie.

behind (and not too far behind, he thought) the lands the English were developing on the east coast of North America (cp. his remarks on Ortelius, p. 551 below). This he extracted and printed in Paris as: *El viaie que hizo Antonio de Espeio en el anno de ochenta y tres: el qual con sus companeros descubrieron vna tierra en que hallaron quinze prouincias todas llenas de pueblos, y de casas de quatro y cinco altos, a quien pusieron por nombre nueuo Mexico, por parecerse en muchas cosas al viejo. Esta à la parte del Norte, y se cree que por ella, y por poblado, se puede venir hasta llegar a la tierra que llaman del Labrador, de quien diximos mas largamente adelante. Impressa en Madrid, anno de 1586. y de nueuo en Paris el mesmo anno, a la costa de Richardo Hakluyt.* M.D. LXXXVI. (The only English copy is Brit. Mus., C. 32. a, 32, which has considerable association interest, bearing in John Dee's hand the inscription on the title-page 'Joannes Dee: A° 1590. Ianuarij 24 Ex dono Thomae Hariot, Amici mei', while a number of underlinings of references to northerly connexions (evidence of his continuing interest in the North-West Passage question in spite of his long sojourn on the Continent) point to Dee's reading of it: Hariot's acquisition of it too shows that he was maintaining his interest in North America.) Hakluyt's next action was to get it translated into French, hence the appearance very soon of *Histoire des terres nouuellement descouuertes . . . par Antonio de Espeio, & nommées la Nouueau Mexico. traduict de l'Espagnol . . . par M. Basanier. . . .* A Paris Vefue Nicolas Roffet, 1586. Before he did anything effective about an English version a certain A.F. (not identified), who knew of Hakluyt's Spanish version, translated it into English as *New Mexico otherwise the voiage of Anthony of Espeio*, London, for T. Cadman [1587], with an epistle from the translator to Henry Anderson, dated 13 April 1587 (reprinted by F. W. H[odge], Lancaster, Pa., 1928, from the Huntington Library copy), of which Hakluyt knew either before or very soon after publication. Finally, he reprinted it in Spanish and had it retranslated for *Principal navigations*, III (1600), 383–96 (IX (1904), 169–204), putting in the margin some cross-references to Virginia—'This draweth toward Virginia' (IX, 196): 'A mighty Riuer of eight leagues broad running toward the North sea. Perhaps this Riuer may fall into the Chesepiouk bay, or into the great lake of Tadoac' (ibid. p. 202). These episodes illustrate very well his great care in collecting and publishing any material he could obtain on North America, and his persistence in tying it in with the colonizing projects.

[1] Compare Hariot, pp. 376–9 above.

if yee turne in a hound he will seeke to start an hare: So sondrie men entring into these discoueries propose vnto themselues seuerall ends. Some seeke authoritie and places of commandement,[1] others experience by seeing of the worlde,[2] the most part worldly and transitorie gaine, & that often times by dishonest and vnlawfull meanes,[3] the fewest number the glorie of God and the sauing of the soules of the poore & blinded infidels.[4] Yet because diuers honest and well disposed persons are entred already into this your busines, and that I knowe you meane hereafter to sende some such good Churchmen thither,[5] as may truely saie with the Apostle to the Sauages, We seeke not yours but you.... *2. Cor. 12. 14.*

Now if the greatnes of the maine of Virginea, and the large extension thereof, especially to the West, should make you thinke that the subduing of it, were a matter of more difficultie then the conquest of Irelande, first I answere, that, as the fresh experience of the happie and singuler skilfull pilotte and Captaine *Master* John Dauis to the northwest, (towarde which his discouerie your selfe haue thrise contributed[6] with the forwardest) hath shewed a great part to bee maine Sea, where before was thought to bee mayne lande, so for my part I am fully perswaded by Ortelius late reformation of Culuacan and the gulfe of California[7] that the land on the backe part of Virginea extendeth nothing so farre westward as is put downe in the mappes of those partes, and that before two yeeres

The happie late discouerie to the northwest of captaine Dauies.

[1] Grenville and Lane? [2] Thomas Hariot? [3] Cp. pp. 232–4.

[4] Hariot had returned optimistic about the chances of converting the Indians: in 1584 Hakluyt had thought this a good employment for discontented Puritan clergy (Taylor, *Hakluyts*, II, 217–18).

[5] Implying that no clergy intending to reside in Virginia had been sent with the 1587 settlers (cp. p. 532 above).

[6] This is the only evidence that Raleigh invested in all three of the north-west voyages undertaken by John Davis under Adrian Gilbert's patent of 1584, but the third expedition did not sail until 19 May 1587 or return till 15 September.

[7] The 1585 version of Ortelius's world map (*Theatrum orbis terrarum*), modifying his original version of western North America. Hakluyt's emphasis on Espejo's discovery (pp. 549–50 above)is thus shown to derive from his belief that the North American land-mass was less extensive and formidable than many supposed (see the influence of this concept on the maps, etc., made for the Gilbert projects of 1578–83, Quinn, *Gilbert*, I, 67–71).

come to an ende, God blessing the foresaide Captaine Dauis endeuours, he will put vs out of that doubt and manie others. Moreouer it is not to bee denied, but that one hundred men will doe more nowe among the naked and vnarmed people in Virginea, then one thousande were able then to doe in Irelande against that armed and warrelike nation in those daies.[1] I say further, that these two yeares last experience hath plainely shewed that wee may spare tenne thousand able men without any misse....[2]

Seeing therefore we are so farre from want of people, that retyring dayly home out of the Lowe Countries they go idle vp & downe in swarmes for lacke of honest intertainment,[3] I see no fitter place to employ some part of the better sort of them trayned vp thus long in service, then in the inward parts of the firme of Virginea[4] against such stubborne Sauages as shall refuse obedience to her Maiestie.[5] And doubtlesse many of our men will be glade & faine to accept this condition, when as by the reading of this present treatie they shall vnderstand the fertilitie and riches of the regions confining so neere vppon yours, the great commodities and goodnesse whereof I trust you will suffer to come shortly to light....[6]

[1] Is he referring to John Hooker's version of Giraldus, 'The Irish historie', with its dedication to Raleigh, in Holinshed, *Chronicles*, II (1587)? (Cp. pp. 489–93 above.)

[2] He is apparently speaking of commitments in the Low Countries, 1585–7.

[3] As a result of Leicester's return in November 1586.

[4] A variant to his suggestions earlier for relieving inadequate employment at home by emigration.

[5] Reflecting (no doubt as result of Lane's experience and influence) the modification of his earlier policy of ruling the Indians without resort to force (cp. pp. 138, 478).

[6] Both by further discovery and by publication of what is already known. He is probably asking Raleigh to allow Hariot's material (possibly his 'Chronicle' (p. 387 above) as well as his 'Report') to be published: but the *Report* was delayed until 1588 (p. 548 above). The *Principall navigations* version inserts 'From London the 1. of May 1587'. This may have been on the first draft as sent to the printer, but removed when the corrections (pp. 547–8 above) were made on the proof, since publication can scarcely have been made before October. The reappearance of the date may be due to Hakluyt using as his copy an old proof on which the earlier date had been left undeleted.

CHAPTER IX

THE FAILURE TO RELIEVE THE VIRGINIA COLONY, 1588-9

levinge each withered boddy to be torne
by fortune, and by tymes tempestius

Scinthia, bk. 12, ll. 13–14[1]

NARRATIVE

In 1585–6 the Roanoke ventures had been closely connected with the strategy of the sea war against Spain. By 1587, though the concept of a shore base in North America against the Indies had not been abandoned, White's venture filled only a very small part of a picture that was dominated by Drake's Cadiz raid and the English preparations at home to meet the Spanish Armada. Consequently, from the point of view of the government, considerations of developing, or even supplying, the American settlement took a minor place in the general strategy of the time. Raleigh, Grenville, Lane and others who were concerned with the Virginia ventures in one degree or another were busily employed on military or naval business.[2] Yet when John White met Raleigh on 20 November and reported on his expedition,[3] Raleigh immediately set on foot preparations for a pinnace to be sent out to the colony with what the settlers needed. This, it was intended, should leave as soon as possible, but it was to be followed by a larger expedition, headed by Sir Richard Grenville. We do not know whether Grenville's intention was to concentrate on assisting the City of Raleigh colony to establish itself on Chesapeake Bay as had originally been planned, or to develop the Roanoke Island area as well. It is almost certain that on this occasion he intended to proceed by way of the West Indies in order to do as much

[1] *Poems of Sir Walter Ralegh*, ed. A. M. C. Latham (1929), p. 95.
[2] Cp. Rowse, *Grenville*, pp. 246–56.
[3] Document no. 86, p. 563 below.

damage to Spanish shipping there as possible and to compensate for his inability to make a voyage in 1587.

On 9 October 1587 a general stay of shipping in English ports had been ordered[1] in view of the maritime danger from Spain, though in the January following Raleigh was given some discretion in regard to the release of the smaller Dutch fly-boats which had been held in the south-west.[2] His letter of 27 February to Sir John Gilbert,[3] however, suggests strongly that, while maintaining the rule, he was proposing to regard the Virginia squadron as an exception to it. It is not unlikely that news of this manoeuvre reached London and that it was this which led to special steps being taken to restrain Grenville's vessels. These appear to have included the *Galleon Dudley*, 250 tons, James Erisey captain, the *Virgin God Save Her*, 200 tons, John Grenville captain, the *Tiger*, again possibly hired by or adventured by the queen (since 1585 this ship had been rebuilt), the *Golden Hind*, and the *St Leger*, with one of that family as captain, and some smaller vessels,[4] making seven or eight in all.[5] If this is a fair account of the shipping at Grenville's disposal, and it is what he later contributed to the Armada campaign, then the Virginia venture of 1588 was at least as heavily equipped as any had been before.

All was ready before the end of March and the ships were only awaiting a fair wind when the expedition was stopped. On 31 March the privy council sent Grenville firm instructions[6] that he was 'to forbeare to go his intended voyage' and hold his ships in readiness to join the queen's navy. This meant the end of the Virginia venture as originally planned. Ten days later further orders followed.[7] Grenville was to stay where he was, as his military services and advice would be needed. The ships were to be sent to Plymouth, except for those found unsuitable, and the provisions

[1] *A.P.C., 1587–8*, p. 254. [2] 8 January (ibid. pp. 328–9).
[3] Document no. 82, pp. 559–60 below.
[4] S.P. 12/216, 54; 237, fo. 15; Rowse, *Grenville*, p. 259.
[5] Document no. 83, p. 560 below.
[6] Document no. 83, pp. 560–1 below.
[7] Documents nos. 84–5, pp. 561–2 below.

collected were to be bought for the queen's service. However, one loophole was left. Grenville might dispose as he wished of such vessels as Drake did not need. This meant at least that some small relief might be sent out to the Virginia colonists. According to White, this was finally arranged only by his own persistence,[1] but it is likely to have been envisaged in any case by Grenville and Raleigh. Of the two small vessels chosen for this service the *Brave*, a bark of 30 tons, Arthur Facy captain,[2] was probably a French ship taken in 1586, which Grenville eventually gave back to her owners.[3] On her sailed White, Pedro Diaz, the pilot who had been in custody at Bideford since his return with Grenville in 1586, seven men and four women to reinforce the settlement, with stores of biscuit, meal and vegetables for the settlers.[4] Of the *Roe*, a pinnace of 25 tons, we know little,[5] but she too had four or five additional colonists.

The vessels left Bideford on 22 April, in reasonable time to reach Roanoke Island by early July. But Captain Facy was a seaman whose mind was wholly set on prize-taking,[6] without being too careful whether or not he overstepped the delicate line between privateering and piracy. Consequently, a few days out[7], they boarded first a Scottish then a Breton ship, stealing what they could, and letting them go. From 26 to 29 April they chased a Flushing ship, the *Brave* transferring some men and arms to the *Roe* during this time. Then on 3 May, while in chase of still another vessel, the two pinnaces parted company. They were making for Madiera, thus indicating they intended to follow Grenville's route of 1586 and avoid the Canaries and the West Indies. The *Brave* sailed on alone, but soon it was her turn to be chased, this time by two ships of Rochelle. The larger of the two caught up with them on the 6th, gave them a broadside and boarded. White gives a detailed and uncoloured account of the savage struggle that followed, which is

[1] P. 564 below.
[2] Cp. pp. 480–3, 564.
[3] P. 564 below.
[4] Cp. pp. 793–4 below.
[5] P. 564 below.
[6] Cp. pp. 486–8 above.
[7] P. 565 below.

confirmed by Diaz.[1] So many were killed and wounded that even after the *Brave* had surrendered there was danger that the survivors on board her would be put to death. The French captain managed to restrain his men, however, and set them to work looting the *Brave*. This they did with such precipitation that they sank one boat and damaged the other, so that most of her sails, her ordnance and two cables and anchors were left on board to keep her more or less seaworthy. Pedro Diaz was, meantime, pleading to be allowed to go with the Frenchmen, while the English survivors were trying to keep him. Their reason was that their own master was mortally wounded and they were relying on him to handle the ship. Finally, Diaz succeeded—he escaped from the French in turn at the Cape Verdes.[2] The *Brave* was left half-crippled. White and three of the planters were wounded and all the supplies were gone. There was nothing to do but put back and it was with some good fortune that they got home to Bideford on the 22nd, to be rejoined shortly after by the *Roe*, which had also abandoned the voyage. White's account is a convincing apology for his own failure to do more, but Grenville must to some extent be held to blame for the choice of Facy as captain, or for his lack of control over the captains of his privateers.

Other privateering ventures were more fortunate. By some means the *Drake* and the *Examiner* of London, owned by John Watts and his partners, left London,[3] probably with two pinnaces, about Easter 1588 (i.e. around 7 April, after the prohibition of Grenville's sailing) for the West Indies. There they missed the Santo Domingo fleet but took one prize. Later, 'comeinge homeward betwixte Newfounde land and Normanbega', there was a quarrel between the master, Robert Fewilliams, and the captain, Thomas Watts, of the *Examiner*. These ships did not, so far as we

[1] Cp. pp. 793–4 below.

[2] P. 794 below.

[3] H.C.A. 13/27 (13 November 1588, John Pocombe; 15 April 1589, Osborn Huntlowe; 29 April, John Benson; 10 May, Edward Hickman; 13 May, Samuel Hearne); Andrews, 'Elizabethan privateering', p. 242; Wright, *Further English voyages*, pp. lxxi, 234–5.

know, make a call at Virginia, but sailed to Newfoundland where they seized provisions from a French ship. Sir John Gilbert was reprimanded for sending out a large ship.[1] Later in the year too, the *Black Dog*[2] of London, 40 tons, William Michelson captain, set out for the West Indies, stayed over the winter, and took a prize worth £1800. Had Raleigh and Grenville been vitally concerned with the settlement, they might have got a vessel or vessels away after the defeat of the Armada, even though the voyage might have been a dangerous one, but they were busily engaged elsewhere in the autumn. By September, Raleigh was in command of three of the queen's ships, *Foresight* (160 men), *Aid* (120 men) and *Tiger* (90 men).[3] Grenville was ordered[4] on 14 September to impress and assemble shipping on the north coast of Devon and Cornwall, since the Spaniards had been driven to the west of Ireland, and 'we have also other further Instructions to vse your service to be doone in Irland with these shippes aforsayd wherof Sir Walter Raleghe knight too we have acqueynted therwith shall inform you. who also hath a disposition for our service to pass into Irland, other with these forces or [ ] yf they shall depart'. Convoying troops to Ireland and keeping guard at the western approaches occupied both for several months, after which they retired to Ireland to inspect their new properties in Munster.[5]

Raleigh can but shortly have returned to England before the next attempt to relieve the Roanoke Island settlement was put under way. This was the tripartite agreement[6] between Raleigh, a group of nineteen associates headed by Thomas Smythe, and White and his assistants in the City of Raleigh venture. The purpose of the deed was to bring this new group of associates into some formal relationship with the City of Raleigh. The two who headed it were probably already involved in the Virginia ventures, William

[1] Rowse, *Grenville*, p. 258; *Acts of the privy council, 1588*, p. 17.
[2] K. R. Andrews, 'New light on Hakluyt', in *Mariner's Mirror*, XXXVII, 299–308.
[3] S.P. 12/216, 2; 28.
[4] S.P. 12/216, 24; Rowse, *Grenville*, p. 264.
[5] Cp. Rowse, *Grenville*, pp. 269–73; Quinn, *Raleigh*, pp. 145–6.
[6] Document no. 87, pp. 569–76 below.

Sanderson possibly since their inception, Thomas Smythe probably since his loan of £1500 to Raleigh and Sanderson in October 1587,[1] which may well have been for the abortive venture of 1588. William Gamage, William Stone, Richard Wright (a protégé of Smythe's), and possibly John Gerrard may be identified as London merchants.[2] Richard Hakluyt was closely linked with the voyages since 1584, and he is joined by the mathematician and navigation expert Thomas Hood, who owed his lectureship to Smythe.[3] John Gerrard, if not the haberdasher, may have been the author of the 1597 *Herball*. The remaining eleven have not so far been identified, but what we know indicates a combination of merchants and intellectuals capable of providing useful backing for the venture. They promised to adventure money, merchandise, shipping, munitions, victual and other commodities in the City of Raleigh venture, in return for which they were granted freedom of trade for seven years into any part of Raleigh's American possessions, with exemption from any dues or taxes there imposed, together with the proceeds of an investment of £100 by Raleigh himself and his good offices to have the corporation confirmed by letters patent. They were, in fact, to be admitted as investors to an enterprise which required more stable and extensive backing than White could give it. White's list of associates shows some considerable changes from that of 1589. The seven members who were presumed to be still in America were retained, plus one of those who had not gone on the 1587 expedition, John Nichols. Two, who stayed at home, William Fullwood and James Plat, were removed, as was one who had gone, Simon Fernandez, while one new name, Humfrey Dimmocke, was added. These alterations indicate that White had been active since his return in 1587 in keeping his own association alive, and he may, indeed, have been at least partly responsible for the eminently sensible device of enlarging the company by the inclusion of Smythe, Sanderson and their friends. It should again be emphasized, however, that Raleigh was not

[1] Document no. 80, p. 544 above.

[2] Pp. 570–1 below.

[3] P. 570 below; *DNB*.

abandoning the American enterprises. He was merely extending the autonomy of the City of Raleigh venture which he had launched in 1587 as an enterprise—potentially one of many—springing from his rights under his patent of 1584.

What is less difficult to explain is why no expedition was sent out in 1589. By March it was late to launch a full-scale venture but at least one or two vessels might have been got away by May. Moreover, there were this year a number of overseas ventures to the South Seas, Brazil and the West Indies[1] which left England without impediment. It may be that Sanderson hoped to get his ship, the *Moonlight*, ready this year but was unable to do so in time, or it may be that an attempt to get some of the West Indian privateers to call was abortive through negligence or accident. Since there is no evidence, speculation cannot take us very far, except that, in view of Sanderson's activity in 1590[2], we can now probably prove that the syndicate of 1589 did not die at birth. Certainly there was now money behind the colony, but, on looking back over the finances of the ventures since 1585, Smythe and the others may not have been prepared to throw more away without some definite expectation of profit.

82. 27 FEBRUARY 1588.

SIR WALTER RALEIGH TO SIR JOHN GILBERT[3]

Sir:

Hereing of late that ther is lyttle regarde taken of the generall restraint made heretofore by the *Lords* of the Counsell of Shipping and Mariners,[4] but that every man providethe to goe for Newfoundland and other places at ther pleasures, as though the restraynte wer forgotten or not to be respected, I thoughte good

[1] Andrews, in *Mariner's Mirror*, XXXVII, 299–308; *The strange adventures of Andrew Battell of Leigh in Essex*, ed. E. G. Ravenstein (Hakluyt Society, 1901), pp. 1–6; Andrews, 'Elizabethan privateering', pp. 255–6, 258, 274–6, 299.

[2] Cp. p. 605 below; Document no. 88, pp. 576–8 below.

[3] P.R.O., S.P. Supplementary, S.P. 9/55 (ii). This is one of a group of eighteenth-century copies described by Miss A. M. C. Latham in *The Times Literary Supplement*, 4 February 1939, p. 74. The original is not known to be extant.

[4] Of 9 October 1587 (*A.P.C., 1587–8*, p. 254).

therfore to put you [in][1] mynde to have special care that none passe withoute speciall order from the *Lords* of the Counsell—praying you to write to the Costomers and Serchers & other officers that they suffer none to goe into any forrayn partes withoute speciall Lycence unles they receave other directions from the Counsell, and that her Ma*jes*tie maye not be unfurnished of Shipping and Mariners upon any occasion that maye happen Whereof I doubt not but you will have such care as to a matter of suche importance apertaneth, And so with my very hartye Comendacions I byd you Farewell—From the Courte the 27—of February 1587.

Your loving Brother[2]
W: Ralegh

[*Postscripts:*] Such as I acquaynted yow withall to whom I have geven leve you may lett them steale away[3]—

Ther is now Newse att all wo[r]the the writinge—with a thowsand com*m*endacions to your sealf & my Sister I com*m*it yow to God—

I have written agayn to M*aste*r Drake touching the Danskers[4] I will take Order to shorten his octorety.

[*Addressed:*] To the Righte wor*shipfull* my very Loving Brother *Sir* John Gilberte Knighte.

83. 31 MARCH 1588.

THE PRIVY COUNCIL TO SIR RICHARD GRENVILLE[5]

A letter to Sir Rychard Greenefyld, knight, that wheras he hathe seven or eyght shippes and pinaces[6] ready for a voyage he

[1] Omitted in transcript.

[2] Sir John Gilbert, vice-admiral of Devon, was Raleigh's half-brother.

[3] The implication that this means Grenville's squadron which was being prepared for the Virginia voyage is at least highly plausible. Without its postscripts, the letter could be used by Gilbert to show there was no intention of evading the government's order.

[4] Danzigers. [5] *Acts of the privy council, 1588*, p. 7.

[6] This indicates that the fleet which Grenville was preparing at Bideford (see p. 563 below) was comparable in size with those he had taken to Virginia in 1585 and 1586.

intendethe to make to some part of the West Indyans, forasmoche as her Majesty dothe receave dayly advertysment of the preparations of the King of Spayn to increase, wherupon it is also thought necessary her Navyes on the seas should be reynforced and strengthened, and to that end order is gyven bothe for the staye of all shippes in all the port townes of the Realme, and to the said townes to furnish a certeyn nomber of vessels, &c; he is also strayghtly chardged and commaunded in her Majesties name and upon his alleadgeance to forbeare to go his intended voyage, and to have the shippes so by him prepared to be in a readynes to ioyne with her Majesties Navye as he shalbe dyrected herafter.

84. 9 APRIL 1588.

THE PRIVY COUNCIL TO SIR RICHARD GRENVILLE[1]

A letter to Sir Richard Greenefeild, knight, that whereas he did advertyse their Lordships[2] of his repaire unto the Cape of Cornewall or the Sylles for commodytie of wynde, to be better hable uppon any occasion to repaier where most use might be of his service, their Lordships could not but allowe his purpose therein; therefore, for his further direc[ti]on, they required him to send presentely unto Sir Francis Drake suche shippes as were of greatest burthen and fyttest for service according unto soche direction as he should receave from him, the other, of lesse burthen, and soche as Sir Frauncis should not thincke fytt to be retayned, he might dyspose of and employ in his intended voyage as he should not [*sic*] thincke good;[3] and whereas his shippes were furnyshed with provycion of victualles for many monethes, which could not ben

[1] *Acts of the privy council, 1588*, p. 27.

[2] Grenville's reply to the orders sent to him on 31 March (above) is not extant. He had evidently put to sea from Bideford with some of his ships on receiving them.

[3] The meaning is, in fact, that he could detach such smaller vessels as Drake permitted for the Virginia voyage. The *Brave* (30 tons) and the *Roe* (25 tons) were thereupon made ready and put to sea from Bideford on 22 April (p. 564 below).

don without great chardge, order was to be given to Mr. Dorrell[1] her Majesties servante emploied at the presente in those partes for the provycion of victualles for the Navy, to take soche order with him therein as should be reasonable;[2] moreover, her Majestie considered the danger of this present tyme and his knowledge and experience in martyall affaires, [and] did thinck yt convenient he him self should remayne in those partes where he now was, to give his assystaunce and advyse to the Lieutenants of Cornewall and Devon.

85. 9 APRIL 1588.

THE PRIVY COUNCIL TO SIR FRANCIS DRAKE[3]

A letter to Sir Frauncis Drake, knight, sygnyfyinge unto him the effect of this former letter wrytten to Sir Richard Greenefeild, knight, which their Lordships thought yt necessary to acquaint him withall, to thend he might be fully instructed withe the full course of their proceedinges in a matter that did so greatly tende to the strengthninge of her Majesties Navye as that did.

86. 1588.

JOHN WHITE'S ACCOUNT OF THE ABORTIVE VOYAGE OF THE *BRAVE* AND THE *ROE*[4]

The first[5] voyage intended for the supply of the Colonie planted in Virginia by Iohn White which being vndertaken in the yeere 1588 by casualtie tooke no effect.

[1] Marmaduke Darrell, victualler to the navy (Bushnell, *Grenville*, p. 197).

[2] The ships had arrived at Plymouth by 12 May under Grenville's command and discussions had opened, and were to continue for some time, about the money he claimed for victuals (Rowse, *Grenville*, pp. 258, 264; S.P. 12/210, 17; 216, 24).

[3] *Acts of the privy council, 1588*, p. 27.

[4] Hakluyt, *Principall navigations* (1589), pp. 771–3, reprinted by R. Pease Chope in 'New light on Sir Richard Grenville', in *Transactions of the Devonshire Association*, XLIX (1917), 274–8.

[5] Probably a printer's error for 'fifth' (since 1584), the running title given by Hakluyt to the 1590 voyage in his second edition.

After the Gouernors[1] returne out of Virginia the 20. of Nouember 1587.[2] he deliuered his letters and other aduertisments[3] concerning his last voyage and state of the planters to Sir Walter Ralegh: whereupon he foorthwith[4] appointed a pinnesse to be sent thither with all such necessaries as he vnderstood they stood in neede of: and also wrote his letters vnto them, wherein among other matters he comforted them with promise, that with all conuenient speede he would prepare a good supply of shipping and men with sufficience of all thinges needefull, which he intended, God willing, should be with them the Sommer following. Which pinnesse and fleete were accordingly prepared in the West countrey at Bidiforde vnder the chardge of Sir Richard Greeneuil. This fleete being now in a reddinesse[5] only staying but for a faire wind to put to Sea, at the same time there was spred throughout all England such report of the wonderfull preparation and inuincible fleetes made by the king of Spaine ioyned with the power of the Pope for the inuading of England, that most of the ships of warre then in a readines in any hauen in England were stayed for seruice at home:[6] And sir Richard Greeneuil was personally commanded

[1] White wrote this narrative, like that of the 1587 expedition, partly in the third, partly in the first, person.

[2] This is evidently the date of White's meeting with Raleigh, as he had arrived at Southampton on 8 November (p. 538 above). Raleigh may probably have been in London at this date, but the evidence is not precise. Yet, in November he completed, with Grenville, Lane and other military experts, a report on coastal defence (Brit. Mus., Harleian MS. 168, fo. 110; see Bushnell, *Grenville*, p. 195), which was almost certainly compiled in London. He is next heard of on 20 December at Exeter, after he had spent some time in obtaining information on military resources in Devon and Cornwall (Edwards, *Ralegh*, II, 36–9).

[3] They have not survived, though the narrative (Document no. 77, pp. 515–38 above), in some form, was probably among them.

[4] From this it would appear that Raleigh expected the pinnace to leave within a very few weeks at most. It remains somewhat obscure why it did not sail. Probably it was feared that a small, unescorted vessel was unlikely to survive Spanish attacks on the southern route, while a winter crossing by the more difficult northern route was even more hazardous.

[5] That Grenville's fleet of seven or eight vessels was ready to sail at the end of March is indicated above (p. 560).

[6] While the privy council order of 31 March is absolute, that of 9 April would permit the detachment of such vessels as Drake would release. The concession

not to depart out of Cornewall. The voyage for Virginia by these meanes for this yere thus disappointed, the Gouernour notwithstanding labored for the reliefe of the planters so earnestly, that he obtained two small pinnesses the one of them being of 30. tonnes called the Braue,[1] the other of 25. called the Roe,[2] wherein 15. planters and all their prouision, with certaine reliefe for those that wintered in the Countrie was to be transported.

Thus the 22. of Aprill 1588. we put ouer the barre at Biddiford in the edge of the Northside of Cornewal, and the same night we came to an anker vnder the Isle of Lundy, where some of our company went on land: After we had roade there about the space of three howers we wayed anker againe and all that night we bare along the coast of Cornewall.

The next day being S. Georges day and the 23. of Aprill stil bearing along the coast we gaue chase to 4. ships, & borded them & forced them all to come to anker by vs in a smal bay at the lands

was probably asked for by Grenville in his reply to the privy council's letter of 31 March.

[1] Described below by White as a bark, she was probably the French ship, taken in 1586 by Melchior Yeo, the *Brave* of Fecamp, Adam Mannier master, with silks, olives, hides, wool and cochineal (possibly one of the two taken and sent home by Grenville, cp. pp. 480–3). Yeo took her to Appledore and when a commission came to Grenville from the admiralty to release the ship and her goods he refused to do so, though finally, before February 1589, he had returned her (H.C.A. 13/101, 15 February 1589, Robert Cade). Pedro Diaz, who was pilot, gave her captain as 'Artefaz', Captain Arthur Facy, who had also been with Grenville in 1586 (cp. pp. 486–7 above), and says she carried seven men (including White?) and four women for the settlement with biscuit, meal and vegetables (p. 794 below). The new settlers may have been men with skills specially needed in the colony and the women, perhaps, included some with husbands already in America. (It may be pointed out that there was a second *Brave*, 36 tons, John Burley captain and part owner, of the Isle of Wight, but there is no link with Grenville, though possibly one with Sir George Carey (H.C.A. 13/29, 24 April 1591, Markes James, Oliver Knote, John Burley; Andrews, 'Elizabethan privateering', pp. 279–80). Thomas Arding was captain for a time in 1590 with Samuel Mace—the earliest reference to him so far found—master. The French prize is much more likely to be White's.)

[2] The *Roe* has not been identified. A ship of this name was rear-admiral in Cumberland's 1586 voyage (G. C. Williamson, *Cumberland*, pp. 27–8) but her owner is not known, and she is likely, in any event, to have been a larger vessel. If Diaz's figures (above) include White, she carried four planters.

end, out of these ships we tooke nothing but 3. men, & the same night we weighed & put to Sea.

The 24. day we gaue chase to 2. ships, the one of them being a Scot the other a Breton. These we borded also & tooke from them whatsoeuer we could find worth the taking, & so let them goe.[1]

The 26. of April we escried a ship on sterne of vs, for whom we strooke our toppe sayle, and stayed for it. By that time he came with vs we saw in his flagge a redd crosse: wereupon we helde him for an Englishman, & gaue ouer our preparation to fight with him. But when he was come neere to vs we perceiued his flagge not to be a right S. George: whereupon we were somewhat amased hauing so farre mistaken, for it was a very tall ship, and excellently well appointed & now readie to clap vs aboord. And it was not now neede to bid euery man to bestirre himselfe, for each one prepared with al speed to fight. In the meane time we hayled them whence they were: They answered of Flushing, bound for Barbarie. And they perceiuing vs to be Englishmen of warre bare from vs and gaue vs a piece, and we gaue them two pieces and so departed.

The 27. day in the morning we were come with the heigth of cape Finister, the winde being still at Northeast.

The 28. day the wind shifted: about foure of the clocke in the afternoone the same day we escried a sayle to the weather of vs, whom we kept so neere vnto vs as we could all that night.

The 29. in the morning we gaue chase to the same ship being then to the wind of vs almost as farre as we could ken. Assoone as our pinnes, came vp to them, the pinnes fought with the ship, & it was an Hulke of 200. tonnes & more, but after a few great shot bestowed on both sides, the pinnesse perceiuing her consort not able to come to ayd her[2] left the Hulke & came roome with

[1] Indiscriminate attacks on vessels of any or every nationality which these incidents suggest, would seem to support White's implication (below) that the crews were particularly irresponsible, Grenville having kept the best sailors for action in home waters. Facy had already shown his willingness to take Dutch ships (pp. 486–8 above).

[2] One reason for her bad sailing qualities may have been overloading with guns, passengers and supplies.

the Braue againe. At their comming they desired the Captaine & Master of the Braue to lend them some men and other things wherof they had neede. Which things put aboord them they returned againe to the chase of the Hulke earnestly, and with ful purpose to boord her.[1] But the Hulke bare all night in with the coast of Spaine, and by morning were so neere land, that we fearing eyther change of wind or to be calmed gaue ouer the fight and put off to Sea againe.

May

The first day of May being Wedensday the wind came large at Northeast.

The 3. being friday we gaue chase to another tal ship, but it was night before we spake with her: and the night grew darke sodenly in such sort, that we lost sight both of the great ship & of our consort also, hauing thus in the darke lost our pinnesse, & knowing our barke so bad of sayle that we could neither take nor leue, but were rather to be taken or left of euery ship we met, we made our course for the Isle of Madera, hoping there to find our pinnesse abiding for vs.

The same day following being the 5. of May we spake with a man of warre of Rochel of 60. tons, very wel manned & brauely appointed being bound, as he said for Peru: hauing hailed ech other, we parted frindly in outward shew, giuing ech other a voley of shot & a great piece: but neuertheles we suspected y^t^ which followed: for this Rocheller hauing taken perfect view of our ship, men, & ordinance, towards euening fell on sterne of vs: and assone as it was darke left vs, and returned to his consort which was a tal ship of 100. tonne lying then on hull to weather of vs out of ken, hauing 84. men in her, whereof 50. were smal shot, and 12. muskets, and in the ship 10. peeces of ordinance. This ship being this night certified by her consort that viewed vs, of what force we were and how bad of sayle, this greater ship tooke in 20. of the chiefest men that were in the smallest ship, and presently gaue vs chase.

[1] They were at this time, according to Diaz (p. 794 below), about 30 leagues from Madiera.

The next morning being Monday and the 6. of May, we escried them in the weather of vs, so that it was in vaine to seeke by flight, but rather by fight to helpe our selues. The same day about 2. of the clocke in the afternoone they were come with vs. We hayled them, but them would not answere. Then we waued them to leewardes of vs, and they waued vs with a sword amayne, fitting their sailes to clappe vs aboord, which we perceiuing gaue them one whole side: with one of our great shot their Master gonners shoolder was stroken away, and our Master gonner with a smal bullet was shot into the head. Being by this time grappled and aboord each of other the fight continued without ceasing one houre and a halfe.[1] In which fight were hurt & slaine on both sides[2] 23. of the chiefest men, hauing most of them some 6. or 8. woundes, and some 10. or 12. woundes. Being thus hurt and spoiled they robbed vs of all our victuals, powder, weapons and prouision, sauing a smal quantity of biskuit to serue vs scarce for England. Our Master and his Mate were deadly wounded, so that they were not able to come forth of their beds. I my selfe was wounded twise in the head, once with a sword, and another time with a pike, and hurt also in the side of the buttoke with a shot. Three of our passengers[3] were hurt also, whereof one had 10. or 12. woundes our Master hurt in the face with a pike and thrust quite through the head. Being thus put to our close fights, and also much pestred with cabbens and vnseruiceable folkes we could not stirre to handle our weapons nor charge a piece: againe hauing spent all the powder in our flaskes and charges which we had present for our defence, they cut downe our netting and entred so many of their men as could stand vpon our poope and forecastle, from whence they playd extreemely vpon vs with their shot. As thus we stood resolued to die in fight, the Captaine of the Frencheman cried to vs to yeld and no force should be offred. But after we had yelded, they knowing

[1] Diaz says (p. 794 below) that the French boarding party numbered thirty.

[2] He says, further, that the greater number on both sides had been killed and wounded.

[3] I.e. three of the intending colonists.

so many of their best men to be hurt and in danger of present death, began to grow into a new furie, in which they would haue put vs to the sword had not their Captaine charged them, and persuaded them to the contrary. Being at length pacified they fell on all handes to rifling and carying aboord all the next day vntil 4. of the clock: at which time by ouer greedy lading both their owne boate and ours, they sunke the one and split the other by the ships side: by meanes whereof they left vs two cables and ankers, all our ordinance and most part of our sailes, which otherwise had ben taken away also.[1] Furthermore they doubting the wind would arise, and night at hand, & a tal ship al that day by meanes of the calme in sight,[2] they came aboord vs with their ship, and tooke in their men that were in vs, who left vs not at their departing any thing worth the carying away. Being thus ransacked and vsed as is aforesaid in all sorts, we determined (as our best shift in so hard a case) to returne for England, and caused all our able and vnhurt men, to fal to newe rigging & mending our sailes, tacklings, and such things as were spilled in our fight. By this occasion, God iustly punishing our former theeuerie of our euil desposed mariners,[3] we were of force constrained to break of our voyage intended for the reliefe of our Colony left the yere before in Virginia, and the same night to set our course for England, being then about 50. leagues to the Northeast of Madera.

The 7. of May[4] being Wednesday in the forenoone the wind came large at East northeast and we haled off as farre west and by north as we could vntill the 10. of May, fearing to meete with any more men of warre, for that we had no maner of weapons left vs.

The 11. the wind larged more, and thence forth we continued our due course for England.

[1] According to Diaz (p. 794) those left on the *Brave* pleaded that he should be left on board as pilot, but he persuaded the French to take him with them.

[2] This might have been an Englishman which would come to the aid of the *Brave*.

[3] White's long-drawn-out quarrel with Fernandez on the outward voyage in 1587 arose from a similar dislike of combining piracy or privateering with a colonizing expedition.

[4] A slip, for the 8th, which was Wednesday and is required by the narrative.

The 17. of May we thrust our selues west of Vsshant, & sounded, but found no ground at 110 fathoms. The same day at night we sounded againe, and found ground at 80. fathoms.

The 20. being Sonday we fell with the coast of Ireland.

The 21. in the forenoone we saw the Northside of Cornewal at the lands end.

The 22. of May we came to an anker betweene Lunday and Harting point neere vnto Chauell key,[1] where we road vntill the next tyde, and thence we put ouer the barre, and the same day landed at Biddeford.

Our other pinnesse whose company we had lost before the last cruell fight, returned also home into Cornwall within fewe weekes after our arriual,[2] without performing our entended voyage for the reliefe of the planters in Virginia, which thereby were not a litle distressed.[3]

87. 7 MARCH 1589.

AGREEMENT BETWEEN SIR WALTER RALEIGH, THOMAS SMYTHE ETC., AND JOHN WHITE ETC. FOR THE CONTINUANCE OF THE CITY OF RALEIGH VENTURE[4]

An assignement from Sir Walter Raleigh, to diuers Gentlemen, and Merchants of London, for the inhabiting, and planting of our people in Virginia.

This Indenture made the 7. of March, in the 31. yeere of the raigne of our Soueraigne Lady Elizabeth by the grace of God of England, France, and Ireland Queene, defender of the fayth &c.

[1] Between Lundy Island and Hartland Point, near to Clovelly Quay.

[2] No evidence on the further adventures of the *Roe* has been found.

[3] It is not unlikely that the naïve-sounding last clause was added by Hakluyt in 1589, when he did not wish to suggest that the colony of 1587 might already have perished. Diaz at Havana in March 1589 was already of the opinion that the colonists were probably dead, or at least in grave straits (p. 795 below).

[4] Richard Hakluyt, *Principall navigations* (1589), pp. 815–17, added out of order, late in the printing, and omitted in 1600, presumably as it had not taken effect. Reprinted by Ebenezer Hazard, *Historical collections*, I (Philadelphia, 1792), 42–5. The 1589 Index includes under 'Walter Raleigh knight', the following: 'His assignement to diuers gentlemen and merchants of London, to continue the action of planting in Virginia'.

betweene the right worshipfull Sir Water Raleigh, of Colaton Raleigh, in the county of Deuon knight, Lord warden of the Stanarie, and chiefe gouernour of Affamacomock[1] alias Wingandacoia, alias Virginia, on the one partie, and Thomas Smith,[2] William Sanderson,[3] Walter Bayly,[4] William Gamage,[5] Edmund Neuil, Thomas Harding, Walter Marler,[6] Thomas Martin, Gabriel Harris, William George, William Stone,[7] Henry Fleetewood,[8] Iohn Gerrard,[9] Robert Macklyn, Richard Hakluyt,[10] Thomas Hoode,[11] Thomas Wade, Richard Wright,[12] Edmund Walden,

[1] 'Ossomocomuck' (p. 508 above), a preferable form. The absence of the 'f' sound in Algonquian languages makes it safe to assume that this corruption arose from confusion with the long 's', so it would be more correct to read 'Assamacomuck' as did Hazard. For a discussion of its meaning, see p. 854 below.

[2] In view of the loans made to Raleigh and Sanderson by the elder Thomas Smythe, customer of London, haberdasher (d. 1591), this is presumed to be him and not his better-known son, afterwards Sir Thomas Smythe.

[3] See Document no. 88, pp. 576–8 below.

[4] He could have been a connexion of Roger Bayly, p. 539.

[5] Probably William Gamage, or Gammage, ironmonger, died 1604 (John Nicholl, *Some account of the worshipfull company of Ironmongers* (1851), pp. 533, 548–9; A. B. Beaven, *Aldermen of London*, II, 39, 79).

[6] He may have been the Walter Marler who acted as executor for Sir Ambrose Nicholas (*Chancery proceedings, Elizabeth*, II, 236).

[7] Probably William Stone, clothworker, died 1607 (Beaven, *Aldermen of London*, II, 49; A. H. Johnson, *History of the Drapers Company*, III, 55).

[8] Possibly concerned in a case about land in Bucks. (*Chancery proceedings, Elizabeth*, I, 298.)

[9] He is likely to have been either Sir John Garrarde, haberdasher (d. 1622; Beavan, *Aldermen*, II, 44), or John Gerard (1545–1612), barber-surgeon, who in his *Herball* (1597, see pp. 444–6 above) speaks as if he had some personal information on the Roanoke ventures.

[10] This is most probably the Rev. Richard Hakluyt rather than his elder cousin, and it is his first formal association, so far as we know, with a colonial venture. Through his association with the Virginia Company of 1606 he provides one of the strongest links between it and the City of Raleigh venture.

[11] Thomas Smythe had created a mathematical lectureship for him in 1582, and he had recently published *A copie of the speache made by the mathematicall lecturer at the house of M[aster] T[homas] Smith the 4 of November 1588* (S.T.C. 13694). His publications were mainly aids to navigation.

[12] Haberdasher. Probably trained by the elder Thomas Smythe, he became the assistant and close business associate of the younger Thomas Smythe, and was prominent in the beginnings of the East India Company (Sir William Foster, *England's quest of eastern trade*, p. 149).

merchants of London, and aduenturers to Virginia[1] aforesayd, Iohn White, Roger Baylye, Ananias Dayre, Christopher Cooper, Iohn Samson, Thomas Steeuens, Roger Prat, Dionise Haruie, Iohn Nichols, Humfrey Dimmocke, late of London gentlemen,[2] of the other partie, witnesseth, that where Sir Water Raleigh knight by vertue of the Queenes Maiesties letters patents[3] dated at Westminster, the 25. day of Marche, in the 26. yeere of her highnes raigne, vnto him the sayd Sir Water Raleigh, by the name of her Maiesties trustie, and welbeloued seruant, Water Raleigh Esquire, granted for the discouering, finding out, and planting of vnknowen and remote landes and countries, as by the sayd letters pattents at large doeth, and may more plainely appeare: hath by this indenture of graunt bearing date after the computation of England the 7. day of Ianuarie in the yere of our Lorde God 1587. and in the 29. yeere of the raigne of our Soueraigne Lady Queene Elizabeth,[4] made betwixt him the said Sir Water Raleigh knight of the one partie, and Iohn White, Roger Baylye, Ananias Dayre, Christopher Cooper, Iohn Sampson, Thomas Steeuens, William Fulwood, Roger Prat, Dionise Haruie, Iohn Nichols, George Howe, Iames Plat, and Simon Ferdinando of London Gentlemen[5] of the other

[1] This group of nineteen, three of whom at least, Smythe, Sanderson and Hakluyt, were already closely associated with Raleigh, undertook to underwrite the corporation of the governor and company of the City of Raleigh, formed on 7 January 1587.

[2] George Howe (dead, see pp. 525–6 above), Simon Fernandez (retired, we may assume, because of his differences with John White, pp. 517–23 above), William Fullwood and James Plat, of the original thirteen, have disappeared. Dimmocke appears as a newcomer and, with White and Nichols, was in England, the remaining seven being left on Roanoke Island in 1587 (pp. 539–40 above) and presumed still to be alive.

[3] Pp. 82–9 above.

[4] Something has gone wrong with the dating here. 7 January 29 Elizabeth is our 7 January 1587, but by 'the computation of England' 1586. However, Hakluyt, with his intermittent habit (cp. pp. 387, 599) of taking 1 January instead of 25 March as the beginning of the year, has slipped here by altering '1586' to '1587', unless, indeed, his printer did it for him. The contingent evidence that 1587 is meant is conclusive (see pp. 506, 516 above).

[5] This is the list of the governor and assistants of 7 January 1587 as we get it, with some omissions, in the grant of arms of that date (pp. 506–12 above). The

partie, graunted vnto the said Iohn White, Roger Baylye, and the rest, free libertie to carrie with them into the late discouered barbarous lande, and countrie called Affamacomock, alias Wingandacoia, alias Virginia, there to inhabite with them, such, and so many of her Maiesties subiects, as shall willingly accompany them,[1] together with sufficient shipping and furniture for the same, and also diuers, and sundrie other prerogatiues, iurisdictions, royalties, and preheminences, as in, and by the said indenture of graunt, it doeth, and may more at large also appeare: Nowe the sayde Thomas Smith, William Sanderson, Walter Baylye, William Gamage, Edmund Neuill, Thomas Harding, Walter Marler, Thomas Martin, Gabriel Harris, William George, William Stone, Henry Fleetewood, Iohn Gerarrd, Robert Macklin, Richard Hakluyt, Thomas Hood, Thomas Wade, Richard Wright, Edmund Walden, and others, aduenturers as aforesayde purposing, and intending to be made free of the corporation, companie, and societie lately made by the sayd Sir Walter Ralegh, in the citie of Ralegh, intended to be erected & builded in Afamacomock, alias Wingandacoia, alias Virginia aforesaid, as by his said indenture made to the said Iohn White, Roger Bayly, & the rest more at large it doth appeare, do vpon y^e^ sealing, effecting, & confirmation of these patents aduenture diuers & sundry sums of money, marchandises, shiping, munition, victual, and other commodities[2], into the said forraine and remote country of Affamacomock alias Wingandacoia, alias Virginia aforesaid: in consideration aswel of which aduenture, as also for diuers, and sundry other good causes, and considerations him the sayde Sir Walter Ralegh thereunto especially mouing, The sayd Walter Ralegh hath giuen, graunted, couenanted, and promised, and by these presents for himselfe, his heyres, and assignes and euery of them, doth giue, graunt, couenant,

following passage contains a more specific recital of part of the lost agreement than does the grant of arms (q.v.).

[1] The authority to take colonists to the City of Raleigh derives from Sir Walter Raleigh's patent (pp. 86–8 above).

[2] The contribution which the nineteen were to make towards the establishment of the colony is thus specified.

and promise, to & with the said Thomas Smith, William Sanderson, Walter Bayly, William Gamage, Edmund Neuil, Thomas Harding, Walter Marler, Thomas Martin, Gabriel Harris, William George, William Stone, Henry Fleetewood, Iohn Gerrard, Robert Macklyn, Richard Hakluyt, Thomas Hoode, Thomas Wade, Richard Wright, Edmund Walden, and others aduenturers aforesayde, and vnto, and with the sayd Iohn White, Roger Baylye, Ananias Dayre, Christopher Cooper, Iohn Samson, Thomas Steeuens, Roger Prat, Dionise Haruie, Iohn Nichols, Humfrey Dimmocke, and euery of them, their heyres, and assignes, and the heyres, and assignes of euery of them, and their, and euery of their Deputies, Factors, or Apprentises, who shall serue them, or any of them by the space of seuen yeeres, that they, and euery, or any of them, shall from time to time and at all times for euer haue free trade, and traffique for all manner of Marchandise, or commodities[1] whatsoeuer, vnto, in, and from all that part of America, called Afamacomock, alias Wingandacoia, alias Virginia, aforesayde, or vnto, or from any other part, or countrie, of, or in America aforesayde, where hee the sayde Sir Walter Raleigh his heyres or Assignes, or any other person or persons clayming or pretending any manner of right, title, or interest, or which hereafter shall or may claime, or pretend any right, title, or interest, by, from, or vnder him the sayde Sir Walter Raleigh, hath, chalengeth, claymeth, or may or shall hereafter, haue, chaleng, or clayme any interest, iurisdiction, title, rule, or priuiledge, by any conueiance, or discouerie heretofore made, or hereafter to be made, or by any other way or meanes whatsoeuer. And further the sayde Sir Walter Raleigh, as well for, and in especiall regard, and zeale of planting the christian religion, in, and amongst the sayde barbarous and heathen countries, and for the aduancement and preferment of the same, and the common vtilitie and profite of the inhabitants therein, as also for the incouragement of the sayde Thomas Smith,

[1] This is Raleigh's first and main inducement to the nineteen to take on the above responsibilities (cp. the position of the town of Southampton in relation to Sir Humphrey Gilbert's scheme in 1582 (Quinn, *Gilbert*, I, 60–1, II, 313–35))

William Sanderson, Walter Baylye, William Gamage, Edmund Neuill, Thomas Harding, Walter Marler, Thomas Martin, Gabriel Harris, William George, William Stone, Henry Fleetewood, Iohn Gerrard, Robert Macklin, Richard Hakluyt, Thomas Hood, Thomas Wade, Richard Wright, Edmund Walden, Iohn White, Iohn Nichols, and the other Assistants nowe lying in Virginia, and others aduenturers aforesayde, their heirs, and assignes, doth by these presents, freely, and liberally dispose, and giue vnto them, the sayd Thomas Smith, William Sanderson, and the rest aforesayde, the summe of one hundred pounds of lawful money of England, to bee by them aduentured and disposed, in, and amongst other their aduentures vnto the places, and countries before mentioned, To haue, holde, occupie, vse, employ, possesse, enioy, and dispose, as well the sayde summe of 100. pound, giuen as aforesayd, as also all such gayne, profite, commoditie, aduantage and increase, as they by Gods assistance, shall thereof make to their onely vses and behoofes, and to the vses and behoofes of the seuerall heyres, executors, and Assignes of them and euery of them, without rendring any account for the same, or any parcel thereof, to the sayde Sir Water Ralegh, his heires, executors or assignes, or any of them.[1] And the said Sir Water Ralegh, for himselfe his heyrs, and assignes, and euery of them, doeth further couenant, and graunt, to, and with the sayde Thomas Smith, William Sanderson, Walter Bayly, William Gamage, Edmund Neuill, Thomas Harding, Walter Marler, and the rest aforesayde, and to, and with the sayde Iohn White, Roger Baylye, Ananias Dayre, Christopher Cooper, Iohn Sampson, Thomas Steeuens, Roger Prat, Dionise Haruie, Iohn Nichols, and Humfrie Dymmock, and the heyres, and assignes of them, and euery of them by these presents, to discharge, saue and keepe harmelesse, from time to time, and at all times for euer, them, and euery of them, their seuerall heyres, and assignes, and euery of them, and the deputies, factors and seruants of them, and euery of them, and apprentises of them, and

[1] Raleigh's subsidiary inducement, primarily an earnest of his good faith towards White and the settlers.

euery or any of them, who shall serue them or any of them the space of seuen yeeres, of, and from all rents, subsidies, customs, toles, taxes, tallages, and all other charges, seruices, dueties, and demaunds, whatsoeuer required or demaunded, or to be required or demanded, at any time or times hereafter, or for the trading, or transporting any commoditie or profite, into or from the sayde countrie[1] of Affamacomock, alias Wingandacoia, alias Virginia aforesayde, or any other countrey in America aforesayde, whereunto, or wherein, the sayde Sir Walter Ralegh, his heyres, or assignes, hath or may or shall haue any interest, right or title, by vertue of the sayde letters pattents, or by any discouerie, or other meanes whatsoeuer, or for any other matter, cause, or thing whatsoeuer: the fift part of all the oare of golde, and siluer that from time to time, and at all times after such discouerie, subduing and possessing as aforesaide, shalbe there gotten, and obtained (alwaies reserued to the vse of the said Sir Water Ralegh his heyres, and assignes) onely excepted, and foreprised.[2] And the sayd Sir Water Raleigh doeth further couenant, and graunt by these presents for him, his heyres, and assignes, to and with the sayd Thomas Smith, William Sanderson, and the rest aforesayd their heires & assignes, that he the said sir Water Ralegh, his heyres, or assignes, vpon sufficient & reasonable request made to him by the persons aforesayd, or any of them, their heires, or assignes, shal and wil at any time, or times hereafter, ratifie, affirme, and approue by his deede, or deedes, or by any other conueiance, or conueiances in lawe, the corporation heretofore made by him the sayde Sir Water Raleigh, consisting of one Gouernour, and twelue assistants, as by his sayd Indenture made to Iohn White and others, more plainely doth appeare, for the more perfect, and better assurance, and sure making of the saide corporation, if any imperfection, and want in law thereof bee. And further, that hee the sayde Sir Water Raleigh, his heyres, and assignes, shall, and will, as much as in him or them

[1] A third inducement.

[2] This reservation was incumbent on Raleigh since he himself was bound to pay such a fifth to the Crown under his patent (p. 84 above).

lieth, procure, and indeuour to obtaine, the Queenes maiesties letters patents, for ratification, approbation, and more sure confirmation, of the sayde corporation, and societie[1] with al prerogatiues, commodities, iurisdictions, royalties, priuiledges, and preheminences, whatsoeuer graunted and conueied by her Maiestie, to the saide Sir Water Raleigh, his heires or assignes, or by him the sayd Sir Walter Raleigh, to the said Iohn white, and others, as by his said indenture of graunt made to the sayde Iohn White, and others more plainely appeareth. In witnesse whereof, the parties to these presents, haue hereunto interchangeably put their handes, and seales, the day and yeere first aboue written.

88. WILLIAM SANDERSON, AND THE VIRGINIA VENTURES[2]

William Sanderson al*ias* Sanderzon borne a gent*leman*, bred a Merchant Adventurer vnder the wor*shipfu*ll Tho*mas* Allin Esquire Merchant vnto Queene Elizabeth for her Marine causes As was *Sir* Thomas Gresham k*nigh*t her merchant for her Military causes; which said Sanderson was for himselfe and his said Maister in Denmarke, Swethland, & Poland: And in Fraunce, Germany & Netherlande*s* in Travaile and Trade there & elsewhere many yeares. And in respect of his Ma*iesties* office and service for him was well knowne in Court in the dayes of the Duke of Norffolke and afterwarde*s* in the time of the Lorde*s* Burleigh and Leicester.[3] And in that tyme marrying with *Sir* Walter Raleigh his neece (being his

[1] The final inducement offered by Raleigh. It reflects some doubts as to the validity of the charter of 7 January 1587 and of this indenture, and promises his good offices in getting their provisions confirmed by royal patent. It must be emphasized that Raleigh was disposing only of his rights in the City of Raleigh (how precisely they were defined territorially in the 1587 charter we do not know), and not of his remaining interests under his patent of 1584.

[2] Brit. Mus., Harleian MS 5208, fos. 29–29 v. (Memoir 'By a Freind', possibly his son, William Sanderson, and written after his death in 1631, prefixed to William Sanderson's 'A Treatise of Exchange'), extract: 'first printed in *The voyages and works of John Davis* (Hakluyt Soc., ser. 1, LIX), ed. A. H. Markham, p. xiv.

[3] The elder Sanderson (born about 1541, d. 1631) still lacks a biographer, but the difficult task of endeavouring to trace the rise of a merchant of his varied interests might be a rewarding one.

sisters daughter)[1] did mannage his affaires all the tyme of his prosperity; And did (at severall tymes) stand bound for the said Sir Walter Raleigh for more then a hundred Thousand poundes starling[2] And also for meere debt more then sixteene thousand pounds at one tyme,[3] taken vp in London most part thereof at

[1] Margaret, daughter of Hugh Snowdale or Snedale ('a Commander in the Queens Navy Royall', says the younger Sanderson in *An answer to a scurrilous pamphlet* (1656), sig. A2v.–A3) and a sister of Raleigh's whose Christian name does not appear to be known.

[2] Dr John W. Shirley in his important 'Sir Walter Raleigh's Guiana finances', in *Huntington Library Quarterly*, XIII (1949), 55–69, has shown that early in 1595 Sanderson accounted to Raleigh for some £44,000 to £45,000 raised and expended on the first Guiana expeditions [and possibly some earlier ventures, since this sum seems too high for what we know of the forces employed in 1594 and 1595]. Of this £700 or £800 represented his personal adventure, £31. 3*s*. 2½*d*. cash outstanding from Raleigh, and an unspecified amount, though 'a very great somme of money indeed', for which he had gone bond for Raleigh and on which he was, in certain circumstances, liable for the interest. Long after, in 1611, Raleigh attempted to make Sanderson account for some £60,000, the disposition of which in these ventures had, he claimed, never been clarified. Sanderson counterclaimed for various sums, including several thousand pounds interest on letters of credit in which he had stood bond for Raleigh: moreover, he maintained that an endorsement on a release of 1595, which bound him to a full accounting should Raleigh return, was a forgery. The cases, fought both in Chancery and Star Chamber, were apparently thrown out as inconclusive, but the incidental evidence of Thomas Hariot, etc., is of considerable interest on the financing of voyages at this time.

[3] Carew Raleigh, Sir Walter's son, apparently wrote the pamphlet *Observations upon some particular persons and passages, in a book lately made publick; intituled, A compleat history of...Mary queen of Scotland, and of her son James* [by William Sanderson the younger], 'Written by a Lover of the Truth' (1656), which declared that the elder Sanderson 'was a Gentlman, though poor,...he was of kin to Sir Walter Raleigh, and in the time of his prosperitie and greatness was his servant, and intrusted with receiving great sums of money for him, out of his Office of Wines, and other his places, by which he became in arrears to Sir Walter Raleigh, in divers great sums: which after his troubles (being a prisoner in the Tower) Sir Walter sent unto Sanderson for; But he was so far from paying them (presuming that Raleigh was there friendlesse) that he pretended Sir Walter Raleigh should owe him 2000li. Whereupon Sir Walter in great anger, commenced a suit against Sanderson, which was managed by his servant and solicitor, John Shelbury; And Sanderson being overthrown and found in arrears to Sir Walter Raleigh, in very great sums, was cast into prison, and there dyed a poor contemptible beggar' (p. 2). Sanderson thereupon flew into print in defence of his father. His *An answer to a scurrilous pamphlet intituled, Observations upon a compleat history of*

Vsury vpon his owne bond, such was his Credit and Reputation in those dayes, as there can be made good proofe therof/.

He invented, made, printed and published the great Spheares and Globes, both Celestiall & Terrestriall[1] being the first soe published in Christendome, for the honor of his Countrey, and good of the Schollers Gentrye, and Marriners of the same. He sent severall Voyages to search out the Northwest passage vnto Chyna Molucca Phillipina & Iapan in the South Sea.[2] And also severall Adventures vnto Virginia with Sir Walter Raleigh at the first discovery therof: All vnto his owne very great Cost and Charge of some[3] thousand poundes starling.

Mary Queen of Scotland, and her son King James (1656), has no difficulty in refuting the last allegation and has other interesting biographical particulars. It also puts a different complexion on the earlier relationships: 'And as Sir Walter's occasions had need, (Courtiers not being over-nice to make them often) he engaged Sanderson for him in 16000l. and was indebted besides to Sanderson, in severall summes of money, as his Cash-books do yet evidence, amounting to 4000l. (the Observator sayes, but 2000l.)' (sig. A 3). The precise balance-sheet we are unlikely to discover. I am much indebted for these pamphlet references to Dr John W. Shirley, and through him to Professor E. A. Strathmann.

[1] These were the Molyneux-Wright globes, terrestrial (1592 and 1603) and celestial (1592), cp. pp. 850–1 below. *An answer to a scurrilous pamphlet*, sigs. A 3 v.–A4, has some interesting details on Sanderson's financial aid for their production.

[2] The Davis voyages, 1585–7 (see Hakluyt, *Principal navigations*, VII (1904), 381, 407–8, 423, 442; William Cotton, *An Elizabethan guild of the city of Exeter*, p. 149; Markham, *Davis*, passim). There is no account of what precisely his investments were.

[3] 'Two' crossed out. This suggests that, if the younger Sanderson were the author, the 'Cash-books' noted above were not too clear about his father's investments in these ventures. Indeed, it is not certain whether the £1000 or thereabouts is intended to cover the north-west ventures as well as the Virginia ones: it is slightly more plausible to consider it as concerning the latter only. Sanderson enters the Virginia story directly only in 1589 and sends a vessel out in 1590 (pp. 570, 605 below), but he may have been involved by 1587 or even earlier (pp. 89, 554). Cp. Thomas Hood, *The use of both the Globes* (1592), sig. A 3 v., who writes of Sanderson's 'greate coste, which hee hath heretofore imployed in the searching out of the Northwest passage vnto China, and the Moluccas, and to a relieued [*sic* for 'relieue of'?] our contrimen in Virginia'.

CHAPTER X

THE 1590 VOYAGE AND THE SEARCH FOR THE LOST COLONY

to seeke for moysture in th'arabian sande
is butt a losse of labor, and of rest
the lincks which time did break of harty bands

words cannot knytt, or waylings make a new,
seeke not the Soon in clovdes, when it is sett...

On highest mountaynes wher those Sedars grew
agaynst whose bancks, the trobled ocean bett

and weare the markes to find thy hoped port
into a soyle farr of them sealues remove

Scinthia, bk. 11, ll. 478–86[1]

Sugers
Hides
Ginger
Canafistula
Gwayacum
Wooles
} Marchandice owt of the Indias.[2]

NARRATIVE

1590 sees the end of the series of expeditions despatched by Raleigh to Virginia and the abandonment for more than ten years of his American colonizing ventures. Though it is still unexplained why John White did not make a voyage in 1589, we have now got something more than his own account of the circumstances under which he set out in 1590. The story begins with the preparation by John Watts, the greatest of the privateering entrepreneurs,[3] and his partners (who in 1591, but probably not in 1590, included

[1] *The poems of Sir Walter Ralegh*, ed. A. M. C. Latham (1929), p. 93, from the MS at Hatfield House. Miss Latham (pp. 172–9) considers the poem to have been begun before 1589, the 11th book being after 1592, possibly about 1594. The last couplet clearly refers to the loss of the 1587 colony as reported by White, pp. 613–14 below.

[2] Undated note, S.P. 12/185, 61.

[3] Andrews, 'Elizabethan privateering', pp. 57, 242–3.

Raleigh),[1] of three privateers in the Thames in January 1590. They were the *Hopewell* or *Harry and John* of 140–160 tons, Abraham Cocke captain, Robert Hutton master, with 40–84 men and 16–24 guns;[2] the *Little John* or *John* of 100–120 tons, Christopher Newport captain, Michael Geare master, with anything up to 100 men and 19 guns;[3] and the *John Evangelist*, a pinnace, William Lane captain.[4] On 1 February the privy council, in view of the possibility of another Spanish naval attack on England, ordered all merchant shipping to remain in port,[5] and Watts's privateers were stopped with the rest.

According to John White, it was this news which sent him to Raleigh with the proposal that he might get the queen's licence for Watts's ships to sail provided they agreed to call at Virginia, bringing White, some stores, additional planters and their equipment to Roanoke Island. This was done, and it was agreed that a bond for £3000 should be signed by Watts to obey the condition, though, White thought, it was never formally completed.[6] According to William Sanderson, it was he who made the arrangements with Watts and imposed a bond for £5000 that the conditions would be complied with,[7] but, apart from the sum named, there is no essential inconsistency as Sanderson was Raleigh's man of business and was probably acting for him.[8] When the vessels were ready to leave the Thames towards the end of February, Watts and his captains, White alleged, refused to take the settlers and the stores and barely accepted himself alone. He complained he did not have time to get in touch with Raleigh, though the ships put in at Plymouth and did not leave until 20 March.[9]

It would appear that two other vessels promised to call at Vir-

[1] Cp. Edwards, *Ralegh*, II, 43–5.

[2] Pp. 662–3 below; deposition of Ralph Gibson, 7 March 1592, H.C.A. 13/29; Andrews, op. cit. p. 248.

[3] Pp. 599, 688, 690 below; Corbett, *Spanish war*, p. 99; Gibson's deposition as above; Andrews, op. cit. p. 252.

[4] Pp. 599, 603, 693 below.

[5] Cp. p. 713 below.

[6] P. 714 below.

[7] Pp. 706–8 below.

[8] Cp. pp. 576–8.

[9] Pp. 599, 714 below.

ginia, independently of this venture. Captain William Irish, in command of the *Bark Young*, owned by Sir George Carey's associates, with the *Falcon's Flight*, owned by John Norris of Barnstaple,[1] is likely to have slipped away without licence rather earlier than this. On 25 April he took a vessel which sailed from Santo Domingo for Havana ahead of her squadron, and a few days later he was off the south coast of Puerto Rico, saying he intended to go to Florida to pick up 200 English cast away there with their ship.[2] This was clearly a reference to some plan to make contact with the settlers and, again, Sir George Carey must have been behind it.[3] Still ahead of White, Irish sailed up the American coast, but we cannot tell whether he called at Roanoke Island. By 6 August he was in Notre Dame roads at Newfoundland when French fishermen took his prize from him and he came home with little profit.[4]

Whether or not Sanderson got Watts to bind himself that his ships would go to Virginia, he did succeed in imposing one other condition, namely, that his own ship, the *Moonlight* or *Mary Terlanye*, 80 tons, with 7 guns and 40 men, Edward Spicer captain, John Bedford master,[5] should accompany the *Hopewell* and her two associates. There is some doubt whether the captains and masters signed a consortship agreement, but, if not, they accepted one verbally.[6] However, Watts's three ships left the *Moonlight*

[1] Cp. pp. 482–3 above. The *Bark Young* was owned by John Young of Chichester, John Crooke, George Blande (Sir George Carey's steward), and others. A case against the Frenchmen who seized her prize was brought in the High Court of Admiralty. (Interrogatories on behalf of John Young, etc., H.C.A. 24/58; depositions of William Irish, Edmond Maynard and John Kenneye, 22 January 1591, H.C.A. 13/28; Robert Tilley, 28 January 1592, H.C.A. 13/29; Andrews, 'Elizabethan privateering', pp. 290, 311.) Irish was described in 1591 as Carey's man, wearing his livery (deposition of Ralph Lee, 21 December 1591, H.C.A. 13/29).

[2] Diego Menéndez de Valdés to Philip II, 3/13 May (Wright, *Further English voyages*, p. 244).

[3] Cp. pp. 498–9, 502–3.

[4] Depositions of William Irish, etc., 22 January 1591, H.C.A. 13/28.

[5] Pp. 605, 638, 662–3 below. Her captain had been with White in 1587 (p. 525 above).

[6] Cp. pp. 650–1 below.

behind when they sailed from the Thames. She followed them round to Plymouth to find they had cleared before her arrival and she set out for the West Indies to catch up with them some time in May.[1] We hear from the Spaniards that, besides White, the *Hopewell* carried in her hold artillery for the Virginia settlers.[2] There is, so far, no means of verifying this, but it is reasonable to assume that the *Moonlight* carried some supplies. It would be strange if Sanderson did not send stores for the settlers in virtue of the 1589 agreement, so that a probable cause for the *Moonlight's* delay was the preparing and loading of such a cargo after White had sailed. Can we see in the hasty dealings of the *Hopewell's* crew with White a reflection of the fact that it was the *Moonlight* which had been assigned to carry relief to the colony? It seems probable that this was so, but it is strange that White nowhere mentions it, nor does he even say that the *Moonlight* was Sanderson's ship.

These complications apart, the *Moonlight* had added another before she left Plymouth. The *Conclude*, a pinnace of 20–30 tons, Joseph Harris captain, Hugh Hardinge master, owned by Thomas Middleton and his partners,[3] was ready to put to sea, and for mutual assistance the captains of the two vessels agreed to a consortship to last only until the *Moonlight* should catch up with Watts's ships. The ships evidently made a rapid crossing from Plymouth[4] and the next we hear of them is when they surprised the Spanish merchant fleet sailing from Santo Domingo for Havana at Saona towards the end of June, gave chase and turned the Spaniards back to port, whence they re-emerged a day or two later.[5] The *Moonlight* and *Conclude* joined Watts's three ships and their prizes about noon on 2 July near Cape Tiburon at the western end of Hispaniola.[6]

Meantime, Captain Cocke had taken the *Hopewell* and her consorts by the Canaries route to the West Indies, Dominica being

[1] Probably at the end of the month or even at the beginning of June if they made the West Indies in 30 days. Cp. Wright, *Further English voyages*, p. 252.

[2] P. 799 below.

[3] Pp. 625–6, 642, 656–7 below.

[4] Cp. n. 1 above.

[5] They sailed on 27 June (Wright, *Further English voyages*, p. 249).

[6] P. 605 below.

sighted on 30 April, and there made careful dispositions so as to take as many prizes as possible. The *Little John* under Newport was left to cruise off Dominica in the hope of picking off Spanish vessels outward bound for the Indies. The *Hopewell* and *John Evangelist* sailed together to Puerto Rico and then separated, the larger vessel covering the northern coast and watering at the Yaguana River where a mulatto called Pedro deserted to the Spaniards and told them much—some of it untrue—about the English expedition. A rather pointless raid on Mona followed the capture of a small prize, a ten-ton frigate carrying hides and sugar, and on 15 May the *Hopewell* reached Saona, a small island off the south-eastern end of Hispaniola, where a rendezvous had been arranged so that watch could be kept for the Spanish squadron which was expected to leave Santo Domingo shortly. When the *Little John* came up, prizeless, on 19 May Cocke assigned her, with the captured frigate, to patrol the Mona Channel for a few days in case the Santo Domingo vessels, contrary to their usual custom, should take this route to Havana. He then took the *Hopewell* on to the next rendezvous at Cape Tiburon at the south-western end of Hispaniola.[1] The *John Evangelist* probably spent some time trading with the Spaniards of San German as was usual, but, passing Saona, she fell in with one of the Spanish galleys from Santo Domingo. This was one of two left at that station in 1586—the other being already out of commission—and had been sent to clear the way for the merchant fleet. In spite of her greatly superior strength she was unable to catch the English pinnace and the engagement was broken off after some artillery fire and with only slight damage to either vessel.[2] The pinnace then joined the *Hopewell* at Cape Tiburon, where the *Little John* and the frigate also arrived on 26 May.

During the greater part of June the vessels lay in wait for the tardy Santo Domingo squadron. On taking another small Spanish frigate on 14 June news was obtained of a possible prize at Yaguana,

[1] Pp. 601–4, 799 below.

[2] P. 603 below; Wright, *Further English voyages*, p. 245.

a port on the north-west coast of Hispaniola. The *John Evangelist* and the second frigate were sent to take her, which they did, and brought her back to Cape Tiburon. She was the *Trinidad* of 60 tons, Blas Lopez master, which had left Yaguana for Havana but had been attacked by a French ship and had put back to port. Whether she was taken at sea or in harbour is not clear, but she was worth at least £1000, and had on board some 1300 hides, 250 hundredweight of *cassia fistula*, with *cassava*, ginger, and copper pans as well as negro slaves and passengers.[1]

When the *Moonlight* and *Conclude* reached Cape Tiburon on 2 July they found six ships there, Watts's three vessels and their three prizes on which crews had been placed. The ships exchanged courtesies and the newcomers brought news of English naval dispositions to catch the Spanish homeward-bound fleet—a squadron off Terceira, another off Cape St Vincent, and a third on patrol at sea, while privateers were to rendezvous at the Azores in the autumn, those from the West Indies, it was hoped, bringing up-to-date information of the sailing plans and strength of the Spaniards. The *Moonlight* was accepted by Cocke as a consort, but nothing had been done to determine the status of the *Conclude* when, in the afternoon, the Santo Domingo fleet of fourteen vessels, under the command of Captain Vicente González, was at last sighted. Once the Spaniards saw the eight English vessels González gave orders to disperse and make for Jamaica. Cocke gave orders to pursue and his ships streamed off towards the south-west and had not overhauled the enemy when darkness fell.[2]

The details of the night's events, so far as they concerned the *Hopewell*, the *Moonlight* and the *Conclude*, were later much contested. Both English and Spanish ships scattered to the south and south-west, the latter making for Jamaica, and the pursuers endeavouring to keep them in sight in what was evidently not complete darkness. Perhaps as early as 9 o'clock the *Conclude* sighted a vessel sailing westwards, changed course on recognizing her as a

[1] Pp. 604, 690 below; Wright, *Further English voyages*, pp. 254–5.
[2] P. 605 below; Wright, *Further English voyages*, pp. 249–54.

Spaniard and claimed to have hailed her and to have hung a light at the mast-head in order to attract other English ships.[1] She was the *Buen Jesus* of Seville, Manuel Fernández Correa owner and captain, of 300–350 tons, and vice-admiral of the squadron. She had failed to maintain contact with her consorts, possibly having sailed too far westward, and her captain gave orders to steer a course for Cuba.[2] The story on the *Conclude's* part is that about midnight the *Hopewell* came within hail and was told that the Spaniard was ahead, and that later the *Moonlight* did the same.[3] The story from the *Hopewell's* side is either that she, and not the *Conclude*, first sighted the Spaniard, or alternatively that the three vessels followed the same course and fell in with the Spaniard independently about 10 o'clock.[4] The evidence from the *Moonlight's* men is not wholly consistent but tends to support the *Conclude*.[5] During the night trumpets were sounded by one or more of the English ships so as to hail the Spaniards, or to keep their own vessels together.[6]

In the morning, about five or six o'clock,[7] the *Hopewell* went ahead and opened fire on the *Buen Jesus*, which replied.[8] This was within sight of the island of Navaza,[9] some thirty miles west of Cape Tiburon. It is claimed on behalf of the *Conclude* that she did the same, but fell astern when the Spaniard replied.[10] The *Hopewell* and the *Moonlight* closed in to starboard, the former amidships and the latter on the quarter, while the *Conclude* came up again astern or on the port quarter.[11] The claim was made on behalf of the *Hopewell* that she did all the firing,[12] but it was also alleged that the two other ships had some part in the fight.[13] This lasted, according

[1] Pp. 635, 643, 693 below.
[2] Cp. pp. 657–8, 692–703 below and Wright, *Further English voyages*, pp. 250–3.
[3] Pp. 643–4 below.
[4] P. 635, 683 below.
[5] Pp. 626–7, 630, 632–3, 635–6, 639, 641 below.
[6] Cp. p. 697 below and Wright, *Further English voyages*, p. 253.
[7] P. 636 below.
[8] Pp. 630, 636 below; Wright, *Further English voyages*, pp. 250, 253.
[9] Cp. p. 605 below; Wright, *Further English voyages*, p. 253.
[10] P. 636 below.
[11] Pp. 636, 661–2 below.
[12] Pp. 697–8 below.
[13] Pp. 660–1 below.

to the English, from one to two hours,[1] and from three to four hours according to the Spaniards.[2] After three men had been killed on the *Buen Jesus*, and perhaps six injured, she surrendered[3]—whether solely to the *Hopewell* or to all three of her assailants[4] was a legal nicety which was not apparently considered at the time. Captain Abraham Cocke went on board to receive the surrender;[5] whether he did so as commander of the flagship or as captain of the solely victorious *Hopewell* was also to be argued, but there is little doubt that he was followed by the officers and some of the men of the other two vessels.[6] The claim was made, and denied, that they shared in the pillage of the deck cargo with the *Hopewell's* men,[7] but the prize's flag and streamers were shared between the three vessels[8] and two chests of sugar were divided between them.[9] Cocke said that the choice of the captain of the prize crew was solely his. Robert Hallett had been designated by John Watts to command the first prize taken by his ships, but it is claimed that he was accepted and approved by the officers of the other two vessels.[10] The prize crew was, moreover, made up of men from all three ships, Captain Harris and two of his men going from the *Conclude*, while the Spanish prisoners were also distributed.[11] For the time being all was harmony, since the prize was worth enough to make the voyage of more than three ships.[12]

Cocke made no attempt to follow up the other Spanish vessels but, over the next few days, put his prize in order and sailed on towards the western end of Cuba. On 10/20 July the *Moonlight* and *Conclude* sighted the *galeones* under the command of Juan de Oribe Apallua rounding Cape San Antonio on their way to

[1] Pp. 655–6 below.
[2] Wright, *Further English voyages*, pp. 250, 253.
[3] Ibid.; pp. 697–8 below.
[4] Cp. pp. 633, 636, 644, 684, 697–8 below.
[5] Pp. 697–8 below; Wright, *Further English voyages*, p. 253.
[6] Pp. 627, 633, 636, 639, 644 below.
[7] Pp. 627, 637, 644, 663–4, 685 below.
[8] Pp. 627, 645 below.
[9] Pp. 633–4, 637, 641 below.
[10] Cp. pp. 628, 631, 634, 637, 645, 666–7 below.
[11] Pp. 627, 631, 633, 637, 639, 644–5, 665–9, 685–6 below; Wright, *Further English voyages*, p. 253.
[12] Cp. pp. 692–5 below.

Havana, but waited for their consorts to come up. At Cape San Antonio on the 11th the four vessels were reunited and Cocke made great efforts to follow the Spanish fleet in the hope of cutting out some further prizes. The English ships were, however, becalmed and were forced to land all but three of their Spanish prisoners during the frustrating delay which followed.[1] It was not until the 22nd that they could sail round to the north side of Cuba, by which time the fleet was safe in Havana. The *Conclude*, now commanded by Hugh Harding, somehow lost touch with the other three ships, but they went on to the next rendezvous, Matanzas, to the east of Havana. From there they 'shamelessly' patrolled the coast to the westward and sighted three Spanish pinnaces from San Juan de Ulua which were trying to slip into Havana. Mistaking them for the *Conclude* and the two small prize frigates, the English ships did not strike quickly enough. The Spaniards ran for shallow water near the coast and there the three larger vessels, lacking a pinnace, could not follow and the quarry got to Havana. Returning once again to Matanzas and finding no sign of the missing ships, Cocke gave orders to leave the Caribbean. By 31 July the three vessels had safely passed through the Florida Channel, the prize parting on that day for England[2] by way of the Azores and the *Hopewell* and the *Moonlight* being at last free to make for Virginia and the colonists, who had by then been deserted for three years.

If William Irish had already informed the Spaniards of Puerto Rico in April of English plans to reinforce their Virginia settlement,[3] further information was not long kept from them. It appears to have been the mulatto Pedro who told the Puerto Rico authorities that the *Hopewell* carried artillery in her hold for Virginia, as well as a governor for the colony.[4] Seven privateers would call there, it was said, after seeking prizes in the Indies, refresh their

[1] P. 606 below; Wright, *Further English voyages*, pp. 249–54.

[2] P. 608 below.

[3] P. 581 above.

[4] Cp. pp. 601, 799 below, the latter (no. 152) being an intercepted letter from Diego Menéndez de Valdés.

men, take in water and return to their attack on Spanish shipping. The fortified English base in Virginia explained why the English raiders were now active in the Indies all the year round. A member of the crew of the *Buen Jesus*, released in Cuba in August, told a similar story.[1] No less than forty English vessels had set out for the settlement in Virginia by way of the Indies. Four of them were bringing women settlers. From their good harbour they would sally out to intercept the fleet when it had passed through the Florida Channel. And in 1591 a grand assault by 150 vessels would be made on the Indies.

This picture of the Virginia settlement, painted to illustrate English hopes and to colour Spanish fears, had little relation to reality, and raises suspicions that the information was 'planted' for Spanish consumption. More cautious conclusions were expressed by the released commanders of the *Buen Jesus* and the *Trinidad*,[2] and accepted by General Diego de la Ribera, of the *galeones* fleet at Havana.[3] The intended call of the English privateers at Virginia in order to leave a governor for the settlement and their hope of wintering there were reported as being well attested. Further, a fair picture emerged of English ocean strategy during the latter part of 1590. English squadrons had been sent to cruise off the Spanish coast and off the Azores. The English privateers in the Indies would try to send word by a pinnace when the Spanish fleets left Havana. They would then, having left White at Virginia, make for the Azores and assist in the rounding-up of the Spanish Indiamen. As this information does not appear to have reached Spain before 20 October[4] it did not prove of any value in countering the English plans.

Before following the *Hopewell* and the *Moonlight* to Virginia it may be as well to trace what is known of the activities of Captain Christopher Newport in the *Little John*, and his consorts, after they parted from the *Hopewell* on 2 July. They had sailed southwards

[1] Wright, *Further English voyages*, pp. 253–4.
[2] Ibid. pp. 251–2, 256.
[3] Ibid. p. 258.
[4] Cp. ibid. pp. 261–2.

towards Jamaica after González and the remainder of the Santo Domingo squadron, keeping close behind them until nightfall. In the morning some Spaniards were still in sight and the *John Evangelist* took up the chase again.[1] After exchanging shots with the flagship, she turned to engage some of the other vessels. The *Little John* then came up and fired on the flagship, but broke off the fight when it became clear that she was in danger of going aground, thus enabling González to make the harbour of San Juan de la Vega.[2] Meantime two of the Spaniards had gone aground outside the harbour so Newport ordered the two small frigates[3] which had kept up with him to get them off. This they managed to do, but one sank after she had been pulled clear and before she could be looted. The other, though her rudder was lost, was made prize.[4]

Newport set out on the morning of 4 July for the south coast of Cuba. He appears to have made slow progress, and stayed some four or five days at Cape Corrientes near the western end of Cuba before going on to Cape San Antonio at the south-western tip of the island. During three days there it was decided to scuttle the prize, which was by now unseaworthy. Sugar, ginger, sarsaparilla and hides were transferred to the other ships, from which some Spaniards were also set on shore.[5] The precise date on which Newport with the *Little John*, *John Evangelist* and the two small frigates rounded Cape Antonio, making for Matanzas, the next rendezvous, is not known, but it was probably before Captain Cocke left Cuban waters.[6]

[1] Wright, *Further English voyages*, p. 255, the authority being a Spanish seaman who was on board the *John Evangelist*.

[2] Ibid.; p. 619 below. [3] P. 690 below.

[4] Pp. 690–1 below; Wright, *Further English voyages*, p. 256.

[5] Ibid. pp. 254–6. For a further prize see pp. 595, 619, 689.

[6] One Spanish account (ibid. p. 256) would put this back to 19/29 July, but this is too early, as the *Hopewell* and her consorts did not leave Cape San Antonio until the 22nd (p. 606 below). Another Spanish document (ibid. p. 248) would place the events which followed the *Little John's* appearance on the north coast of Cuba between 9/19 July (which is much too early) and 27 July/6 August (the date when the *Hopewell* finally cleared from Matanzas (p. 607 below)).

The *Hopewell* and her associates had been unfortunate in being unable to take any of the Spanish ships making their way into the harbour of Havana. Newport had, to begin with, better fortune. Off Los Organos, the rocky promontories of north-west Cuba, he sighted towards sunset three stragglers from the Mexico *flota*, the main part of which had entered Havana on 3/13 July. There was some exchange of fire before darkness fell, but at dawn two ships were still in sight (the third apparently having fled back to Mexico). On the smaller and weaker of these, whose master was named Juan de Borde (or Diego de Bode), the *Little John* and the *John Evangelist* closed in and prepared to board.[1] The larger Spanish ship, *Nuestra Señora del Rosario*, of perhaps 400 tons, Miguel de Acosta master, threw a cable across to the smaller vessel so that some aid could be given her. After an exchange of gunfire she was boarded and, after a fierce engagement, overcome. Captain Newport lost his right arm in the struggle, with four men killed and sixteen injured. A quarter of an hour later, when apparently only a few bales of cochineal had been thrown into the boats, the other Spanish ship cut her cable and the prize sank before her thirteen pipes of silver could be secured.[2] *Nuestra Señora del Rosario* was badly holed below the water-line, so the best her crew could do with her was to run her on to a cay at the western end of Los Organos, and get away by boat.

With Newport out of action it is likely that the command devolved on Captain Lane of the *John Evangelist*, since the lieutenant of the *Little John* had been killed. The vessels were about to move inshore after the disabled Spaniard when the look-outs on the *Little John* reported they had sighted certain Spanish galleys on their way to the rescue. White's informant thought they had mistaken some rocks off the coast for ships, but this was apparently not so. The galleys *San Agustín* and *Brava* had left Havana to scour the coast for English interlopers and, about 27 July/6 August, they made contact with the men from the grounded Spanish ship who

[1] Cp. Wright, *Further English voyages*, pp. 248–9, 262.
[2] Cp. pp. 619–20, 691 below.

directed them to where they thought the English vessels were, but they were not to be found. The damaged Spaniard, with her indigo, cochineal, silk and 8000 hides, broke up and went to the bottom in spite of attempts at salvage.[1] The disappointment of the Englishmen must have been great. It was not lessened when they seized another small vessel a few days later and learned from her something of the wealth of the cargoes of the prizes they had lost. In her case they merely took off some meal and biscuit and let her go.[2]

Though they were now expected to go on to Matanzas and accompany the *Hopewell* to Virginia all we know is that the *Little John* and the *John Evangelist* left the Caribbean and reappeared off the Azores in September. Considering their losses it is not surprising that they should have decided not to go to Roanoke Island. Whether they kept with them the two small Spanish frigates we do not know, but according to Newport all contact with the larger prize, *Trinidad*, and her prize crew of eighteen, had been lost since 2 July.[3]

Captain Cocke, with the *Hopewell* and the *Moonlight*, as they sailed along the American coast in the early days of August, may well have intended, should the colony be found well and flourishing, to winter in Virginia and return to the West Indies in the spring. But the hurricane season had begun and the ships were harassed by sudden thunderstorms. By the 3rd they were off the Carolina Banks between Cape Fear and Cape Lookout,[4] but tossed about for some days, and it was not until the 9th that they could send ashore to the Banks south-west of Wococon for fresh water. Then they sailed on to anchor off the channel through the Banks to the

[1] Cp. Wright, *Further English voyages*, pp. lxxviii, 245–9, 259, 262; pp. 619–20, 691 below.

[2] Wright, *Further English voyages*, p. 259; p. 691 below.

[3] Pp. 604, 690 below. Cp. D. B. Quinn, 'Christopher Newport in 1590', in *North Carolina Historical Review*, XXIX (1952), 305–16; K. R. Andrews, 'Christopher Newport of Limehouse, mariner,' in *William and Mary Q.*, 3rd ser., XI (1954), 8–41.

[4] For the Virginia episode the sole authority still remains White's narrative (Document no. 89, pp. 608—18 below).

north of Cape Hatteras, which they tried to sound on the 13th.[1] On the 15th they made their way to the treacherous roads off Port Ferdinando—though it is not necessary to take White literally when he says they anchored three leagues off-shore. When near land they had seen a column of smoke rising in the air to the north-west, where the settlement would lie. Encouraged by this, boats were prepared the following morning and set out, after making arrangements for regular signal-guns to be fired. White, with Captain Cocke in the *Hopewell's* boat, was distracted by seeing smoke going up from Hatarask Island at Kenricks Mounts, the high dunes near Cape Kenrick. White had the boat put in at the south side of the harbour, probably where the landing-stage still remained, and walked towards the smoke, but found no reason for it, no sign of a human being, and not even water. Meantime the boats had been ferrying water-casks ashore, and the sailors were fortunate enough to find a supply of fresh water among the sand-hills. It being too late when White returned to go on to Roanoke Island, the boats put back to the ships.

On the 17th they set off again. Cocke, though hampered by a north-east wind, managed to get his boat over the treacherous bar into harbour and on to land, but the *Moonlight's* boat had a wave break into it and it capsized. Most of the men got hold of the boat as she grounded on the bar, but some were swept off. Cocke got his own boat into the water fast enough to save four men, but the loss of seven, including Captain Spicer, was a severe blow. With difficulty the lost boat was recovered and the survivors were persuaded to go on. Passing up Roanoke Sound, they overshot their intended landing-place near the north-eastern end of Roanoke Island in the dark, but, seeing a light, sounded a trumpet and sang songs to attract the settlers. There was no result, and at dawn on the 18th they landed near the fire. When they came to it it was merely grass and rotten trees burning, with no sign of life. They walked through the woods to the western shore opposite

[1] An attempt to show the soundings (pp. 609–10 below) is made in the inset to the general map (at end).

Dasemunkepeuc and then round North West Point to the place where the colonists had been left in 1587.

At the top of the forested dune White found a tree on which, without any Maltese cross as a sign of distress, had been carved the letters 'CRO'. Then, coming down to where the settlement had been, he saw a high wooden palisade, with very fort-like curtains and flankers, round an enclosure where the houses had stood. The buildings inside had been taken down. On a post at the right-hand side of the entrance was carved the word 'CROATOAN'. The restored houses of the 1585 settlement and the new cottages built in 1587 had alike been taken down.[1] Within the enclosure there was found only some heavy debris—iron bars, pigs of lead, iron saker-shot, with four cannon (iron fowlers), probably those left in 1586.[2] White went next to a small creek, possibly that still traceable a little to the east, to look for signs, he said, of their boats. Nothing was discovered there, but, returning towards the deserted settlement, some of the sailors met him to say that five chests had been found. They had been carefully buried in a trench made by Captain Amadas in 1585, apparently part of the original fort ditch, but had been dug up by the Indians, some of their contents taken and others left to rot. His framed pictures and maps, his books and his armour in the three chests which he identified as his own were damaged and spoiled by their hands and by damp and rust. These were the only and the last material traces to be found of what was now indeed a lost colony.

Nothing more remained to be done on Roanoke Island, but White was optimistic about finding the settlers. They had, he tells us mysteriously, been intending in August 1587 to move to a place fifty miles 'into' the mainland[3] and promised to leave signs signifying where they had gone. Those which he found White interpreted as meaning that they were on Croatoan Island with Manteo and his friends. There were, however, some indications that the departure had not been without some haste. The metal left behind would suggest that they did not anticipate using their

[1] Cp. pp. 902–3 below. [2] Cp. pp. 791, 904. [3] Cp. pp. 533, 613.

forge to any great extent. The abandoning of the cannon and the burial of the chests of equipment might merely mean that they had not adequate boats to transport them. However, if they were safely settled only some fifty or sixty miles away on Croatoan it is rather surprising that they had not returned and removed everything which might possibly prove useful. It is clear, however, that the settlers had gone away voluntarily, leaving no signs that violence had been offered them on the island.

White ordered the men to return to Port Ferdinando and there he made haste to get to the ships, as a storm was blowing up. Six men who were filling casks of water on the small island between Port Lane and Port Ferdinando were taken off, but the water could not be transported to the ships. After a stormy night the wind shifted towards the north, and it was decided to run southwards in the *Hopewell* to the vicinity of Cape Hatteras to look for the settlers on Croatoan Island. But a cable broke when the anchor was being raised and the ship nearly ran aground on Cape Kenrick, losing another anchor in getting clear. This led the seamen to reconsider their position. They had left their water-casks behind, food was short, and they had, in treacherous weather, only one cable and anchor left. Clearly there was little hope of wintering at Virginia. Moreover, the lack of a pinnace for exploring the Sounds and making anything like a comprehensive search for the settlers was a substantial handicap.[1] The proposal that they should return to the Indies, winter in Hispaniola, Puerto Rico or Trinidad, and return in the spring did not commend itself to John Bedford, who was now in command of the *Moonlight*, as his ship was leaking and he was undermanned. Finally, Cocke and White decided to attempt the bolder course, while leaving Sanderson's ship to make her way home. Westerly winds soon drove the *Hopewell* off her southerly course and she was obliged to run for the Azores. There, it was thought, supplies might be found to enable the ship to return

[1] Had the *John Evangelist* joined him, as she should have done, or the *Conclude* stayed, Cocke would have been in a much better position to investigate on Roanoke and Croatoan Islands.

to American waters. After a stormy passage she caught up with a ship off Corvo and from her learnt something of the doings of the *Little John* and the *John Evangelist* during July last.

This ship cannot be certainly identified on our present information. White says she was a Santo Domingo vessel taken by Newport and on her way home with a prize crew. But the Spaniards admitted only to three losses from the Santo Domingo fleet, the *Buen Jesus*, the vessel grounded and sunk in Jamaica, and the prize scuttled at Cape San Antonio.[1] It is probable that the story told by Micheal Geare, master of the *Little John*, explains her. According to him, before the second Jamaican prize was scuttled at Cape San Antonio, some members of the crew of the *John Evangelist* made their way in the ship's boat to a nearby harbour, found two ships there, and brought back one as a prize to the place where the *Little John* and the *John Evangelist* were. She evidently sailed from the Azores to Plymouth.[2]

The English plans for the blockade of the Spanish coast and of the Azores came to nothing. In July Frobisher had gone with a squadron to the Azores and Hawkins to the Spanish coast. The latter was distracted from his watch for the American fleets by his preoccupation with intercepting Spanish forces on their way to Brittany. In the last resort the Spaniards doubly outwitted the English. The *flota* and *galeones* remained at Havana while Pedro Menéndez Marqués ran through the blockade unscathed with his two *galizabras* laden with treasure, and the forces for Brittany also slipped past Hawkins unnoticed.[3] White appears to be the

[1] Wright, *Further English voyages*, pp. 258–9.

[2] Cp. pp. 619–20 below. In *North Carolina Historical Review*, XXIX, p. 311, it is assumed that she was an additional prize from the Santo Domingo squadron, but more evidence is needed before the statement can be proved. Several prizes which might have been she are mentioned in a rough list in Brit. Mus., Lansdowne MS 142, fo. 115: the most likely being 'Wats prize brought to Plimouth in October, 1590', as this fits in with what Geare says about the disposal of her cargo (p. 689.)

[3] Cp. J. S. Corbett, *Drake*, II, 369–76; E. P. Cheyney, *History of England from the defeat of the Armada to the death of Elizabeth*, I, 529–30; J. A. Williamson *Hawkins of Plymouth*, pp. 320–2; pp. 814–17 below.

only authority who reveals that Hawkins went on to the Azores. On 20/30 September he was off Flores, in the *Mary Rose*, with five others of the queen's ships and a squadron of privateers, including his son's new *Dainty*. After a week, during which the *Hopewell* remained with the fleet, new dispositions were decided and Hawkins set sail eastwards to renew the screen on the Spanish coast, all to no, or very little, purpose. He was home himself by the end of October. The 1590 campaign at sea was thus a decisive failure, but this failure was mitigated by a number of prizes swept together off the islands (since some Spanish vessels did try to get home without escort) and in European waters, which put money into many privateering purses.[1]

The Roanoke voyage of 1590 ended in a similar manner, in failure in White's main objectives and some success in prize-taking. The *Conclude* was back in the Thames before 11 October, as was the *Buen Jesus*, an exceptionally good prize.[2] The *Moonlight*, which White had seen briefly again off Flores on 19 September, was probably next into the Thames.[3] Newport's prize reached Plymouth from the Azores in October. The *Little John* appears to have put into Portsmouth,[4] but where and when the *John Evangelist* appeared is not known. Finally, the *Hopewell* reached Plymouth on 24 October and later, it would appear, came round to the Thames.[5]

The course of the legal actions in the High Court of Admiralty which ensued is sketched above.[6] The official spoil, the *Buen Jesus* with such cargo as remained to be appraised in December, was estimated at £5806. 10*s*. 4*d*.[7] Of this £290. 6*s*. 6*d*. was due to the Queen in customs and £580. 13*s*., in goods, to Lord Charles Howard (of which Dr Julius Caesar's share was £29. 0*s*. 8*d*.). This

[1] There is full information on their acquisitions in Andrews, 'Elizabethan privateering'.

[2] Only 14 of 145 prizes of known value taken 1589–91 were worth over £5000 (Andrews, op. cit. p. 74).

[3] Cp. pp. 620, 625.

[4] Cp. p. 710.

[5] Cp. p. 622.

[6] Pp. 67–71.

[7] Document no. 100, pp. 692–5 below.

left £1645. 3*s*. 7*d*. to be shared among the crews of Watts's three ships, while Watts and his partners, as owners and victuallers, took £3290. 7*s*. 2*d*.[1] It was clear that much besides had already vanished in the hands of the seamen, and it is likely that the owners received a certain amount of what had been concealed.[2] We can be reasonably sure that the *Conclude's* owners and victuallers got nothing, and her crew only what little had come to them on the morning of 3 July.[3] We cannot be nearly so sure about the *Moonlight* and her men. Though the verdict went to Watts, yet it is strange that Sanderson put up so little fight, particularly when the evidence about the consortship of his vessel with Watts's three was attested by so much evidence of one sort or another.[4] The impression left is that Watts may have bought him off—whether at the expense of the handful of his men who brought the *Moonlight* home from Virginia or not is not apparent—in order to clear all claims by the *Conclude* out of the way if Sanderson submitted to a judgment in favour of Watts. If this was so, Sanderson may have covered all, or part, of the costs of his last Virginia enterprise. White's sourness towards Watts,[5] however, may be partly due to his failure to get a share along with the other members of the *Hopewell's* complement.

In 1591 the privateers set sail again, Raleigh joining Watts's syndicate. The *Hopewell* (as the *Harry and John*), the *Little John*, the *Pegasus*, the *Centaur* and a pinnace which may or may not have been the *John Evangelist* were put to sea at a cost of nearly £7000. They encountered in the West Indies three ships of Sir George Carey's, the *Bark Burr*, with Captain William Irish, the *Content* and the *Swallow*, also the *Lion* of Southampton and the *Prudence*

[1] The Queen got subsidy at 1*s*. in the £1 on value; the Lord High Admiral got 10% in kind (of which $\frac{1}{20}$th went to the judge of the admiralty); the crew got one-third of the remainder (to be divided in agreed shares), and the owners and victuallers two-thirds.

[2] Cp. pp. 687–95, 708–10 below. The value of the fly-boat taken in April (p. 600) also remained to be taken into account.

[3] Pp. 586, 711–12.

[4] Cp. especially p. 683, and p. 70 above.

[5] As shown on p. 713 below, in particular.

of London. The prizes brought home by the Watts syndicate were (officially) worth £31,380, leaving £14,740 (less some £2500 net cost) as profit to be divided among the investors.[1] It was of the result of this most successful venture that Raleigh wrote contemptuously—'a small returne, wee might have gotten more to have sent them a fishing'.[2] Small wonder then that there was no time or thought or money to be spent in searches for lost colonies. Raleigh, before his fall in 1592, became more deeply involved in privateering;[3] Sanderson turned his generosity towards the financing of the Wright-Molyneux globes of 1592,[4] while White retired to Ireland, to reappear for the last time when he wrote to Hakluyt from Newtown, co. Cork, in February 1593, having committed 'the reliefe of my discomfortable company the planters in Virginia, to the merciful help of the Almighty', man's aid having failed.[5]

89. JOHN WHITE'S NARRATIVE OF THE 1590 VOYAGE TO VIRGINIA[6]

The fift voyage of M*aster* Iohn White into the West Indies and parts of America called Virginia, in the yeere 1590.[7]

[1] A succinct account, containing much new detail, will be found in Andrews, 'Elizabethan privateering', pp. 250–2.

[2] Brit. Mus., Lansdowne MS 69, fo. 60 v. (Edwards, *Ralegh*, II, 43–4). The figures are modified as the result of a detailed analysis of returns supplied by Dr K. R. Andrews.

[3] Cp. G. M. Griffiths, 'An account book of Raleigh's voyage, 1592', in *The National Library of Wales Journal*, VII (1952), 347–53.

[4] Cp. Helen M. Wallis, 'The first English globe: a recent discovery', in *Geographical Journal*, CXVII (1951), 275–80. Much light is thrown on the subsequent financial relations between Sanderson and Raleigh in John W. Shirley, 'Sir Walter Raleigh's Guiana finances', in *The Huntington Library Quarterly*, XIII (1949), 55–69.

[5] Document no. 107, pp. 712–16 below.

[6] Hakluyt, *Principal navigations*, III (1600), 288–95, being sent to Hakluyt by John White with a letter dated 4 February 1593 as a preface (pp. 712–16 below).

[7] As the voyage began before the end of the year 1589 English style, Hakluyt's dating has often been interpreted to mean that the voyage took place in 1591. For examples of this mistake, see Quinn, *Raleigh and the British empire* (1947), pp. 122–6; Quinn, 'The failure of Raleigh's American colonies', in *Essays in*

The 20 of March the three shippes the Hopewell,[1] the Iohn Euangelist,[2] and the Little Iohn,[3] put to Sea from Plymmouth[4] with two small Shallops.

The 25 at midnight both our Shallops were sunke being towed at the ships stearnes by the Boatswaines negligence.[5]

On the 30 we saw a head vs that part of the coast of Barbary, lying East of Cape Cantyn, and the Bay of Asaphi.[6]

The next day we came to the Ile of Mogador,[7] where rode, at our passing by, a Pinnesse of London called the Mooneshine.[8]

Aprill.

On the first of Aprill we ankored in Santa Cruz rode,[9] where we found two great shippes of London lading in Sugar, of whom we had 2 shipboats to supply the losse of our Shallops.[10]

On the 2 we set sayle from the rode of Santa Cruz, for the Canaries.

On Saturday the 4 we saw Alegranza,[11] the East Ile of the Canaries.

honour of J. E. Todd, ed. Cronne, Moody & Quinn (1949), pp. 63, 78–9. For the inconsistency of Hakluyt's practice in beginning the year on 1 January or 25 March, see p. 387 above.

[1] Alias the *Harry and John* of London (cp. pp. 580, 627), Abraham Cocke, captain (for whom see Foster, *Lancaster*, p. 41), Robert Hutton, master (cp. pp. 687–91), the admiral of the squadron.

[2] Of London, William Lane captain (cp. pp. 580, 603), a pinnace.

[3] Alias the *John* of London, Christopher Newport, captain (pp. 580, 690–2), vice-admiral of the squadron. All three belonged to 'John Wattes and Company of London merchants' and held letters of reprisal against the Spaniards from the Lord High Admiral (p. 712 below).

[4] Leaving, it was alleged, their consort, the *Moonlight*, behind (pp. 705–7 below).

[5] While pinnaces were often towed it is here implied that the smaller shallops should have been brought on board. The use of this type of boat on the Sounds of North Carolina has been noted above (pp. 190, 256, 461).

[6] Cape Cantin (32° 40′ N. lat.) and the Bay of Saffi (or Asfi) (32° 20′ N. lat.).

[7] 31° 30′ N. lat.

[8] *Moonshine* of London (50 tons), John Middleton captain, which took two prizes in 1590 (Andrews, 'Elizabethan privateering', pp. 259–60).

[9] S. of Cape Gir (30° 40′ N. lat.).

[10] For the use made of the boats see pp. 609–12 below.

[11] Allegranza.

On Sunday the 5 of Aprill we gaue chase to a double flyboat, the which, we also the same day fought with, and tooke her, with losse of three of their men slaine, and one hurt.[1]

On Munday the 6 we saw Grand Canarie, and the next day we landed and tooke in fresh water on the Southside thereof.

On the 9 we departed from Grand Canary, and framed our course for Dominica.

The last of Aprill we saw Dominica, and the same night we came to an anker on the Southside thereof.[2]

May.

The first of May in the morning many of the Saluages came aboord our ships in their Canowes, and did traffique with us; we also the same day landed and entered their Towne from whence we returned the same day aboord without any resistance of the Saluages; or any offence done to them.[3]

The 2 of May our Admirall and our Pinnesse[4] departed from Dominica leauing the Iohn our Vice admirall playing off and on about Dominica, hoping to take some Spaniard outwardes bound to the Indies; the same night we had sight of three smal Ilands called Los Santos,[5] leauing Guadalupe and them on our starboord.

The 3 we had sight of S. Christophers Iland,[6] bearing Northeast and by East off vs.

On the 4 we sayled by the Virgines,[7] which are many broken

[1] This ship was evidently sent home with a prize-crew. It appears probable that she was taken by Captain Newport, since there is (in Brit. Mus., Lansdowne MS 142, fo. 115) a rough note of 'The litle Iohns prize—Iune, 1590. brought to Dartmouth laden with wine synnamon etc.', which is very likely to have been the fly-boat.

[2] The run of twenty-one days from Grand Canary to Dominica was a good one (cp. pp. 93, 180 above).

[3] Cp. Laudonnière's visit in 1564 and Drake's in 1595 (Hakluyt, *Principal navigations*, IX, 3; X, 228). For some account of the survival of the Island Caribs in Dominica see Sir Harry Luke, *Caribbean circuit* (1950), pp. 123–33.

[4] The *Hopewell* and the *John Evangelist*.

[5] Îles des Saintes (see *West Indies Pilot*, II (1942), 206–7).

[6] St Kitts (ibid. II, 173–5).

[7] Virgin Islands (ibid. II, 96–136).

Ilands, lying at the East ende of S. Iohns Iland; and the same day towards euening we landed vpon one of them called Blanca,[1] where we killed an incredible number of foules: here we stayed but three houres, & from thence stood into the shore Northwest, and hauing brought this Iland Southeast off vs, we put towards night thorow an opening or swatch, called The passage, lying betwene the Virgines, and the East end of S. Iohn:[2] here the Pinnesse left vs[3] and sayled on the South side of S. Iohn.

The 5 and 6 the Admirall sayled along the Northside of S. Iohn, so neere the shore that the Spaniards discerned vs to be men of warre;[4] and therefore made fires along the coast as we sailed by, for so their custome is, when they see any men of warre on their coasts.

The 7 we landed on the Northwest end of S. Iohn, where we watered in a good riuer called Yaguana,[5] and the same night following we tooke a Frigate of tenne Tunne comming from Gwathanelo laden with hides and ginger.[6] In this place Pedro a Mollato, who knewe all our state, ranne from us to the Spaniards.[7]

On the 9 we departed from Yaguana.

The 13 we landed on an Iland called Mona, whereon were 10 or 12 houses inhabited of the Spaniards; these we burned & tooke from them a Pinnesse, which they had drawen a ground and sunke, and carried all her sayles, mastes, and rudders into the woods,

[1] Near Cape San Juan. Not now included in the Virgin Is.

[2] The Virgin Passage 'is situated between the islets and reefs of the eastern end of Culebra Island and Savana islet, about 8 miles eastward' (ibid. II, 98).

[3] The *John Evangelist*. We do not know anything about her activities on the south coast of Puerto Rico, but it is probable that she went to get food and water and to trade with the people of the San German district (cp. pp. 161–2 above).

[4] For a Spanish report of the *Hopewell's* activities, see Document no. 152, pp. 799–800 below.

[5] The river of Yaguana in Puerto Rico has not been identified. It should not be confused with the town of that name in Hispaniola (cp. p. 604 below).

[6] Newport tells us that the hides were afterwards put on shore and abandoned. Gwathanelo has not been identified. The word is possibly that represented in the modern Point Guanjibo, Hispaniola (*West Indies Pilot*, III, 221).

[7] For the information thus received, see pp. 587, 799 below. Pedro the mulatto has not been identified elsewhere, but he may have been acting as pilot on the *Hopewell*.

because we should not take him away; we also chased the Spaniards ouer all the Iland; but they hid them in caues, hollow rockes, and bushes, so that we could not find them.[1]

On the 14 we departed from Mona, and the next day after wee came to an Iland called Saona, about 5 leagues distant from Mona, lying on the Southside of Hispaniola neere the East end: betweene these two Ilands we lay off and on 4 or 5 dayes, hoping to take some of the Domingo fleete doubling this Iland, as a neerer way to Spaine then by Cape Tyburon, or by Cape S. Anthony.[2]

On Thursday being the 19 our Viceadmirall, from whom we departed at Dominica, came to vs at Saona, with whom we left a Spanish Frigate, and appointed him to lie off and on other fiue daies betweene Saona and Mona to the ende aforesaid; then we departed from them at Saona for Cape Tyburon.[3] Here I was enformed that our men of the Viceadmirall, at their departure from Dominica brought away two young Saluages, which were the chiefe Casiques sonnes of that Countrey and part of Dominica, but they shortly after ran away from them at Santa Cruz Iland,[4] where the Viceadmirall landed to take in ballast.

On the 21 the Admirall came to the Cape Tyburon, where we found the Iohn Euangelist our Pinnesse staying for vs: here we tooke in two Spaniards almost starued on the shore, who made a fire to our ships as we passed by. Those places for an 100 miles

[1] Mona was frequently visited by English privateers to obtain bananas and sweet potatoes, and because it was a suitable spot for picking off vessels leaving the outward bound fleets for Santo Domingo (cp. Hakluyt, *Principal navigations*, x, 185, 191, 198, 210, 311).

[2] The Santo Domingo squadron normally joined the homeward bound fleets at Havana, proceeding by way of Cape San Antonio at the western end of Cuba. White here suggests that it was, however, anticipated that it might double eastwards through the Mona Channel, or might pass between Hispaniola and eastern Cuba to the north coast. Saona, off the western end of Hispaniola, was a suitable base for keeping watch for shipping leaving or entering Santo Domingo.

[3] The *Little John* and the Spanish frigate were assigned to watch the eastern end of Hispaniola while the *Hopewell* and the *John Evangelist* went on to the western end, presumably in case the Santo Domingo squadron evaded the patrol based on Saona.

[4] St Croix, Virgin Islands.

in length are nothing els but a desolate and meere wildernesse, without any habitation of people, and full of wilde Bulles and Bores, and great Serpents.

The 22 our Pinnesse came also to an anker in Aligato Bay[1] at cape Tyburon. Here we understood of *Master* Lane, Captaine of the Pinnesse; how he was set vpon with one of the kings Gallies belonging to Santo Domingo, which was manned with 400 men, who after he had fought with him 3 or 4 houres, gaue ouer the fight & forsooke him, without any great hurt done in eyther part.[2] *Master William Lane.*

The 26 the Iohn our Vizadmirall came to vs to cape Tyburon, and the Frigat which we left with him at Saona. This was the appointed place where we should attend for the meeting with the Santo Domingo Fleete.[3]

On Whitsunday Euen[4] at Cape Tyburon one of our boyes ranne away from vs, and at ten dayes end returned to our ships almost starued for want of food. In sundry places about this part of Cape Tyburon we found the bones and carkases of diuers men, who had perished (as wee thought) by famine in those woods, being either stragled from their company, or landed there by some men of warre.

Iune.

On the 14 of Iune we tooke a smal Spanish frigat which fell amongst vs so suddenly, as he doubled the point at the Bay of

[1] Probably what is now Baie Tiburon, entered between Point des Burgaux and Cape Tiburon (*West Indies Pilot*, III, 283).

[2] The account of this episode by the Spanish governor of Hispaniola may be cited as showing that the English vessels had planned to intercept shipping entering as well as leaving Santo Domingo. 'I compelled one galley to go out, furnishing it some men from the townspeople. It met an English ship off the Island of Puerto Rico and fought her for a while using artillery. The ship was in good condition and the galley was poorly armed and so did not dare to come to close quarters. The result was to drive the Englishman from here, where he was on the course which must be followed by all vessels from Spain.' (Lope de Vega Portocarrero to Philip II, 24 June/4 July. Wright, *Further English voyages*, p. 245.)

[3] The attempt to intercept vessels entering Santo Domingo having now been given up.

[4] 6 June.

Cape Tyburon, where we road, so that he could not escape vs. This Frigat came from Santo Domingo, and had but 3 men in her, the one was an expert Pilot, the other a Mountainer, and the third a Vintener, who escaped all out of prison at Santo Domingo,[1] purposing to fly to Yaguana which is a towne in the West parts of Hispaniola[2] where many fugitiue Spaniards are gathered together.

Spanish fugitiues.

The 17 being Wednesday Captaine Lane was sent to Yaguana with his Pinnesse and a Frigat to take a shippe, which was there taking in fraight, as we vnderstood by the old Pylot, whom we had taken three dayes before.

The 24 the Frigat returned from Captaine Lane at Yaguana, and brought vs word to cape Tyburon, that Captaine Lane had taken the shippe, with many passengers and Negroes in the same; which proued not so rich a prize as we hoped for, for that a Frenchman of warre had taken and spoyled her before we came. Neuerthelesse her loading was thought worth 1000 or 1300 pounds, being hides, ginger, Cannafistula, Copper-pannes, and Casaui.[3]

[1] The pilot was Anton Martin, a native of Tenerife in the Canaries. He had been jailed in Santo Domingo on a charge of casting away a ship, but was released on parole for Easter. He induced a resident of Santo Domingo to buy the frigate with the object of going on a salvage expedition to La Beata. He then slipped away with the vintner and the Indian herdsman. The latter were later released, but Martin appears to have joined the *Hopewell's* crew. Spanish prisoners accused him of Protestant leanings. He had formerly been pilot of the *Buen Jesus*, later taken by the *Hopewell* (Wright, *Further English voyages*, pp. 250–1, 256). Miss Wright says he later became a notorious pirate.

[2] The Mercator-Hondius *Atlas* (Amsterdam, 1606) places it west of the modern Port au Prince at, or near, Leogane—the name of which may be a corruption of Yaguana (cp. R. A. Skelton, *Decorative printed maps of the 15th to 18th centuries* (1952), pl. XLVIII). Newport destroyed it in 1592 (Hakluyt, *Principal navigations*, x, 186–7).

[3] She was the *Trinidad*, of 60 tons by the Spanish reckoning, Blas Lopez master, Marcos de Escobar owner. After leaving Yaguana for Havana and Spain she was robbed by a French privateer off Punta de Guaneo of some 1300 hides and 250 cwt. of *cassia fistula*. Two days later the *John Evangelist* took her (Wright, *Further English voyages*, pp. 254–5). A prize crew of eighteen was put on board. Newport reckoned her value as £1000 (p. 690 below). She, with the *John Evangelist*, had joined the *Hopewell* at Cape Tiburon by 2 July.

Iuly.

Edward Spicer.

The second of Iuly Edward Spicer whom we left in England came to vs at Cape Tyburon,[1] accompanied with a small Pinnesse, whereof one *Master* Harps was Captaine.[2] And the same day we had sight of a fleete of 14 saile all of Santo Domingo,[3] to whom we presently gaue chase, but they vpon the first sight of vs fled, and separating themselues scattered here and there: Wherefore we were forced to diuide our selues and so made after them vntill 12 of the clocke at night. But then by reason of the darkenesse we lost sight of ech other, yet in the end the Admirall and the Moonelight happened to be together the same night at the fetching vp of the Vizadmirall of the Spanish fleete, against whom the next morning we fought and tooke him,[4] with losse of one of our men and two hurt, and of theirs 4 slaine and 6 hurt. But what was become of our Viceadmirall, our Pinnesse, and Prize, and two Frigates, in all this time, we were ignorant.[6]

This fight was in sight of the Iland of Nauaza.[5]

The 3 of Iuly we spent about rifling, romaging and fitting the Prize to be sailed with vs.[7]

The 6 of Iuly we saw Iamayca the which we left on our larboord, keeping Cuba in sight on our starboord.

[1] William Sanderson's *Moonlight*, Edward Spicer captain (cp. pp. 610–12 below). Spicer had been master of the fly-boat in the 1587 voyage (p. 525 above).

[2] The *Conclude*, Joseph Harris (not Harps) captain, owned by Thomas Middleton and his partners (cp. pp. 625–6 below).

[3] Commanded by Captain Vicente González, who had led the Chesapeake Bay expedition of 1588 (cp. pp. 804–13 below).

[4] The accounts of the capture of the *Buen Jesus* in the High Court of Admiralty go into minute detail, much of it contradictory (cp. pp. 642–6, 695–703 especially). The Spanish evidence is in Wright, *Further English voyages*, pp. lxxvii, 245–6, 249–54.

[5] White is the only authority to fix the place where the *Buen Jesus* was taken. Navaza is an island about thirty miles west of Cape Tiburon (*West Indies Pilot*, III, 441, 444; cp. Hakluyt, *Principal navigations*, X, 313, 334).

[6] The *Conclude* was with them; the *Little John*, the *John Evangelist* and the two small frigates had chased González's ships to the harbour of San Juan de la Vega, Jamaica (cp. pp. 619, 688, 690), but the *Trinidad* disappeared (cp. p. 690).

[7] Cp. pp. 627, 663–4 below. Robert Hallett was given command of the *Buen Jesus* with a prize crew drawn from the *Hopewell*, the *Moonlight* and the *Conclude*.

Vpon the 8 of Iuly we saw the Iland of Pinos,[1] which lieth on the Southside of Cuba nigh vnto the West end or Cape called Cape S. Anthony.[2] And the same day we gaue chase to a Frigat, but at night we lost sight of her, partly by the slow sayling of our Admirall, & lacke of the Moonelight our Pinnesse,[3] whom Captaine Cooke[4] had sent to the Cape the day before.

On the 11 we came to Cape S. Anthony, where we found our consort the Moonelight and her Pinnesse abiding for our comming, of whom we vnderstood that the day before there passed by them 22 saile, some of them of the burden of 300 and some 400 tunnes loaden with the Kings treasure from the maine, bound for Hauana;[5] from this 11 of Iuly vntill 22 we were much becalmed: and the winde being scarse, and the weather exceeding hoat, we were much pestered with the Spaniards we had taken: wherefore we were driuen to land all the Spaniards sauing three,[6] but the place where we landed them was of their owne choise on the Southside of Cuba neere vnto the Organes and Rio de Puercos.[7]

The 23 we had sight of the Cape of Florida, and the broken Ilands therof called the Martires.[8]

[1] *West Indies Pilot*, III, 432.

[2] Cape San Antonio was evidently the next agreed rendezvous. It was well placed for watching for the fleets making for Havana. The galleys patrolling from Havana were not permitted to go beyond the Cape (Wright, *Further English voyages*, p. 261).

[3] The Spanish frigate so chased has not been identified. White evidently wrote 'the Moonlight her Pinnesse', i.e. the *Conclude*.

[4] Cocke.

[5] This was the *galeones* fleet under Oribe de Appallua which reached Havana on 19/29 July (Wright, *Further English voyages*, p. lxxviii).

[6] Cp. ibid. pp. 249–56. At least five were released later, and two were certainly and one (Anton Martin) probably brought to England (cp. pp. 696–703 below; Wright, *Further English voyages*, p. 253).

[7] More correctly, on the north-west side of Cuba (ibid. p. 250). The Sierra de los Organos lies back somewhat from the coast, the modern name for the dangerous reefs which lie along the northern shore of Cuba from Cape San Antonio towards Havana being Arrécifes Colorados (*West Indies Pilot*, III, 9, 64, 365–6), and it would appear that it is these which were then known as Organos. Rio de Puercos has not been identified, but may be Rio Guadiana (ibid. p. 371).

[8] Cabezes de los Martires, the landmark for ships sailing from Havana to the Florida Channel (cp. Hakluyt, *Principal navigations*, x, 298; Haring, *Trade and*

The 25 being S. Iames day in the morning, we fell with the Matanças, a head-land 8 leagues towards the East of Hauana,[1] where we purposed to take fresh water in, and make our abode two or three dayes.

On Sunday the 26 of Iuly plying too and fro betweene the Matanças and Hauana, we were espied of three small Pinnasses of S. Iohn de Vllua bound for Hauana, which were exceeding richly loaden.[2] These 3 Pinnasses came very boldly vp vnto vs, and so continued vntill they came within musket shot of vs. And we supposed them to be Captaine Harps pinnesse, and two small Frigats taken by Captaine Harpe:[3] wherefore we shewed our flag. But they presently vpon the sight of it turned about & made all the saile they could from vs toward the shore, & kept themselues in so shallow water, that we were not able to follow them, and therefore gaue them ouer with expence of shot & pouder to no purpose. But if we had not so rashly set out our flagge, wee might haue taken them all three, for they would not haue knowen vs before they had bene in our hands. This chase brought vs so far to leeward as Hauana:[4] wherfore not finding any of our consorts at y^e^ Matanças,[5] we put ouer again to the cape of Florida, & from thence thorow the chanel of Bahama.

navigation, p. 291). To have sighted these islands the English vessels, when they finally rounded Cape San Antonio, must have swung well to the north.

[1] Matanzas was evidently the next rendezvous. The headland is likely to have been the high hill, Pan de Matanzas, somewhat to the west, rather than the lesser cape, Punta Gorda, at the entrance to Puerto Matanzas (*West Indies Pilot*, III, 351–3).

[2] If White is correct the pinnaces are likely to have been stragglers from de Rada's *flota*, which had entered Havana on 3/13 July (Wright, *Further English voyages*, p. lxxviii).

[3] It is not likely that the *Conclude* had taken two frigates before parting from the *Hopewell*. White is, therefore, expressing the assumption which was made when the vessels were sighted that she had possibly acquired two prizes.

[4] The Spaniards were much perturbed at the 'shamelessness' of the English ships which chased any vessels which emerged from Havana harbour (cp. Wright, *Further English Voyages*, pp. 246–7, 257–8).

[5] It appears that a brief call was made at Cape Hicacos, east of Matanzas, probably in a last effort to try to link up with their missing consorts (who were now only a few days behind (cp. pp. 620, 689)). There five Spaniards were put ashore (Wright, *Further English voyages*, p. 253).

On the 28 the Cape of Florida bare West off vs.

The state of the currents from the cape of Florida to Virginia.

The 30 we lost sight of the coast of Florida, and stood to Sea for to gaine the helpe of the current which runneth much swifter a farre off then in sight of the coast.[1] For from the Cape to Virginia all along the shore are none but eddie currents, setting to the South and Southwest.[2]

The 31 our three ships[3] were clearely disbocked, the great prize, the Admirall, and the Mooneshine,[4] but our prize being thus disbocked departed from vs without taking leaue of our Admirall or consort, and sayled directly for England.[5]

August.

On the first of August the winde scanted, and from thence forward we had very fowle weather[6] with much raine, thundering, and great spouts, which fell round about vs nigh vnto our ships.

Sandie Ilands West of Wokokon.

The 3 we stoode againe in for the shore, and at midday we tooke the height of the same.[7] The height of that place we found to be 34 degrees of latitude. Towards night we were within three leagues of the Low sandie Ilands West of Wokokon.[8] But the weather continued so exceeding foule, that we could not come to an anker

[1] The Gulf Stream in the Florida Channel is 95 nautical miles wide with a velocity of 3½ knots (R. E. Coker, *The great and wide sea* (1947), pp. 126–30).

[2] This is the earliest recorded observation of the coastal counter current (cp. Henry Chapin and F. G. Walton Smith, *The ocean river* (1953), pp. 108, 140–1), and is an indication of the careful observations which were being made on the voyage, either by White himself or by the master, Robert Hutton.

[3] Showing definitely that the *Conclude* had not re-established contact with them. Hugh Harding her master, is vague on this point (pp. 645–6 below).

[4] This is a slip for the *Moonlight*.

[5] White does not necessarily imply that the *Buen Jesus* was intended to go to Virginia, but merely that Hallett did not observe the usual courtesies at parting. Several witnesses later implied that it was intended she should sail directly home (pp. 628, 634, 642 below).

[6] Compare Pedro Menéndez Marqués's 'winter begins in August' (p. 781 below).

[7] Taking the meridian height of the sun with the quadrant or cross-staff from which latitude was calculated.

[8] In the vicinity of Cape Lookout.

nye the coast: wherefore we stood off againe to Sea vntill Monday the 9 of August.[1]

On munday the storme ceased, and we had very great likelihood of faire weather: therefore we stood in againe for the shore: & came to an anker at 11 fadome in 35 degrees of latitude, within a mile of the shore, where we went on land on the narrow sandy Iland, being one of the Ilandes West of Wokokon: in this Iland we tooke in some fresh water and caught great store of fish in the shallow water. Betweene the maine (as we supposed) and that Iland it was but a mile ouer and three or foure foote deepe in most places.[2]

They land in 35 degrees.

On the 12 in the morning we departed from thence and toward night we came to an anker at the Northeast end of the Iland of Croatoan,[3] by reason of a breach which we perceiued to lie out two or three leagues into the Sea:[4] here we road all that night.

A breach 2 or 3 leagues into Sea.

The 13 in the morning before we wayed our ankers, our boates were sent to sound ouer this breach; our ships riding on the side thereof at 5 fadome; and a ships length from vs we found but 4 and a quarter, and then deeping and shallowing for the space of two miles, so that sometimes we found 5 fadome, and by & by 7, and within two casts with the lead 9, & then 8, next cast 5, & then 6, & then 4, & then 9 againe, and deeper; but 3 fadome was the least, 2 leagues off from the shore. This breach is in 35 degr. & a halfe, & lyeth at the very Northeast point of Croatoan,[5] wheras goeth a fret[6]

Great diuersity of soundings.

[1] Monday was 10 August, so that White's reckoning was a day out.

[2] 35° N. is probably too high. The description would fit the Banks either north or south of Cape Lookout (at 34° 40′ N.), although either Core Sound or Bogue Sound is now well over a mile wide (see map at end).

[3] See p. 866.

[4] A 'breach' is an inlet distinguished by water breaking on a bar or shoals nearby. In this instance the shoals are those of the modern Cape Hatteras and known as the Diamond and Outer Shoals. They have shifted south and west (cp. pp. 844, 865, map at end).

[5] This was the inlet, just north of the modern village of Buxton, which was probably known to the Indians as Chacandepeco (see pp. 865–6). The true latitude was 35° 16′ N.

[6] Strait or inlet. An attempt is made to chart the soundings (p. 865 below, and map at end).

out of the maine Sea into the inner waters, which part the Ilandes and the maine land.

Hatorask in 36 degr. & a terce.

The 15 of August towards Euening we came to an anker at Hatorask, in 36 degr. and one third,[1] in fiue fadom water, three leagues from the shore.[2] At our first comming to anker on this shore we saw a great smoke rise in the Ile Raonoak[3] neere the place where I left our Colony in the yeere 1587, which smoake[4] put vs in good hope that some of the Colony were there expecting my returne out of England.

The 16 and next morning our 2 boates[5] went a shore, & Captaine Cooke, & Cap*tain* Spicer,[6] & their co*m*pany with me, with intent to passe to the place at Raonoak where our countreymen were left. At our putting from the ship we commanded our Master gunner to make readie 2 Minions and a Falkon well loden, and to shoot them off with reasonable space betweene euery shot, to the ende that their reportes might bee heard to the place where wee hoped to finde some of our people.[7] This was accordingly performed, & our twoe boats put off vnto the shore, in the Admirals boat we sounded all the way and found from our shippe vntill we came within a mile of the shore nine, eight, and seuen fadome: but before we were halfe way betweene our ships and the shore we saw another great smoke to the Southwest of Kindrikers mountes:[8] we therefore thought good to goe to that second smoke first: but it was

[1] The inlet of Hatarask or Port Ferdinando was at 35° 50′ N. (see pp. 863–4).

[2] This is probably a slip of White's for 'miles'. Modern charts give soundings of 11 fathoms 9 miles from shore, which, in any case, was much too far away, there being no shoals at this point.

[3] I.e. north-westwards from their anchorage.

[4] The fires may have been caused by Indians smoking out deer, but at this season they are more likely to have been caused by the sun burning dried vegetation.

[5] I.e. the *Hopewell's* boats, those bought on the Barbary coast (p. 599 above).

[6] Captain Abraham Cocke and Captain Edward Spicer.

[7] If the ships were lying three leagues off-shore such explosions were unlikely to be heard at the Roanoke Fort some 20 miles away.

[8] Kenricks Mounts were high sand dunes just north of Cape Kenrick, the 'false Hatteras' of White's maps, now represented by Wimble Shoals and a water-swept patch of bank north of the settlement of Rodanthe (see p. 864).

much further from the harbour where we landed,[1] then we supposed it to be, so that we were very sore tired before wee came to the smoke. But that which grieued vs more was that when we came to the smoke, we found no man nor signe that any had bene there lately, nor yet any fresh water in all this way to drinke. Being thus wearied with this iourney we returned to the harbour where we left our boates, who in our absence had brought their caske a shore for fresh water, so we deferred our going to Roanoak vntill the next morning, and caused some of those saylers to digge in those sandie hilles for fresh water whereof we found very sufficient.[2] That night wee returned aboord with our boates and our whole company in safety. *They land.* *Fresh water found in sandy hilles.*

The next morning being the 17 of August, our boates and company were prepared againe to goe vp to Roanoak, but Captaine Spicer had then sent his boat ashore for fresh water, by meanes whereof it was ten of the clocke aforenoone before we put from our ships which were then come to an anker within two miles of the shore.[3] The Admirals boat was halfe way toward the shore, when Captaine Spicer put off from his ship. The Admirals boat first passed the breach, but not without some danger of sinking, for we had a sea brake into our boat which filled vs halfe full of water, but by the will of God and carefull styrage of Captaine Cooke we came safe ashore, sauing onely that our furniture, victuals match and powder were much wet and spoyled. For at this time the winde blue at Northeast and direct into the harbour so great a gale, that the Sea brake extremely on the barre, and the tide went very forcibly at the entrance.[4] By that time our Admirals boate

[1] They had landed on the southern side of the Port Ferdinando Inlet and had walked southwards along Hatarask Island in the direction of Cape Kenrick.

[2] Though there are no deep wells on the Banks some of the higher dunes contain more or less impermeable strata, creating, for example, the fresh-water pond, formerly much larger, behind the Kill Devil Dunes at Nags Head. The dependence of the colonists on water collected in barrels sunk in the surface is illustrated below (p. 811).

[3] The ships having moved in.

[4] Lane in 1585 said there was 12 ft. of water on the bar at high water (p. 202 above), but with a north-easterly wind raising the water against the outgoing current high seas would be caused.

was halled ashore, and most of our things taken out to dry, Captaine Spicer came to the entrance of the breach with his mast standing vp, and was halfe passed ouer, but by the rash and vndiscreet styrage of Ralph Skinner his Masters mate, a very dangerous Sea brake into their boate and ouerset them quite, the men kept the boat some in it, and some hanging on it, but the next sea set the boat on ground, where it beat so, that some of them were forced to let goe their hold, hoping to wade ashore, but the Sea still beat them downe, so that they could neither stand nor swimme, and the boat twise or thrise was turned the keele vpward; whereon Captaine Spicer and Skinner hung vntill they sunke, & seene no more. But foure that could swimme a litle kept themselues in deeper water and were saued by Captain Cookes meanes, who so soone as he saw their ouersetting, stripped himselfe, and foure other that could swimme very well, & with all haste possible rowed vnto them, & saued foure.[1] They were a 11 in all, & 7 of the chiefest were drowned, whose names were Edward Spicer, Ralph Skinner, Edward Kelley,[2] Thomas Beuis, Hance the Surgion,[3] Edward Kelborne, Robert Coleman. This mischance did so much discomfort the saylers, that they were all of one mind not to goe any further to seeke the planters. But in the end by the commandement & perswasion of me and Captaine Cooke, they prepared the boates: and seeing the Captaine and me so resolute, they seemed much more willing. Our boates and all things fitted againe, we put off from Hatorask, being the number of 19 persons in both boates:[4] but before we could get to the place, where our planters were left, it was so exceeding darke, that we ouershot the place a quarter of

Captaine Spicer drowned.

[1] Abraham Cocke's bravery and resourcefulness are a measure of his experience as well as of his character (cp. Foster, *Lancaster*, p. 41).

[2] Edward Kelley may possibly be the same as the 1585 colonist of the same name (p. 195 above).

[3] He might conceivably be the 'Haunce Walters' of 1585. There was a 'Haunce Cornew Surgeon' among the members of the French church in London possibly by 1582–3 (*Returns of aliens in London* (Huguenot Society), II, 265, cp. p. 546).

[4] It is evident that they made their way up Roanoke Sound to the east of the island and not by Croatan Sound to the west (cp. p. 862).

a mile:[1] there we espied towards the North end of the Iland y^e^ light of a great fire thorow the woods, to the which we presently rowed: when wee came right ouer against it, we let fall our Grapnel neere the shore, & sounded with a trumpet a Call, & afterwardes many familiar English tunes of Songs, and called to them friendly; but we had no answere, we therefore landed at day-breake, and comming to the fire, we found the grasse & sundry rotten trees burning about the place. From hence we went thorow the woods to that part of the Iland directly ouer against Dasamongwepeuk,[2] & from thence we returned by the water side, round about the Northpoint of the Iland,[3] vntill we came to the place where I left our Colony in the yeere 1586.[4] In all this way we saw in the sand the print of the Saluages feet of 2 or 3 sorts troaden y^t^ night, and as we entred vp the sandy banke[5] vpon a tree, in the very browe thereof were curiously carued these faire Romane letters CRO:[6] which letters presently we knew to signifie the place, where I should find the planters seated, according to a secret token agreed vpon betweene them & me at my last departure from them, which was, that in any wayes they should not faile to write or carue on the trees or posts of the dores the name of the place where they should be seated; for at my comming away they were prepared to remoue from Roanoak 50 miles into the maine.[7] Therefore at my

[1] They intended to land on Shallowbag Bay, probably near Baum Point, from which the fort site would lie north-west.

[2] I.e. they went one to two miles in a south-easterly direction. For the site of Dasemunkepeuc see p. 869 and map at end.

[3] North West Point.

[4] *Sic* for '1587'.

[5] Probably a little to the north of north-west of the fort site on the brow of the forested dune.

[6] Compare the inscription cut on a tree on Puerto Rico in 1585 (p. 183 above.) The fact that three letters only were carved suggests interruption.

[7] Discussion cannot easily make much out of this. If it is taken literally the most likely site within a fifty-mile radius is the northern shore of Albemarle Sound, thickly scattered with Indian villages, but thought of most favourably by Lane since its discovery in August 1585 (p. 213 above). My own feeling is that White in 1587 was, on the whole, glad Fernandez did not take the colony to the Chesapeake Bay (p. 523–4 above), but this does not mean that the colonists,

departure from them in Anno 1587 I willed them, that if they should happen to be distressed in any of those places, that then they should carue ouer the letters or name, a Crosse ✠ in this forme, but we found no such signe of distresse. And hauing well considered of this, we passed toward the place where they were left in sundry houses,[1] but we found the houses taken downe,[2] and the place very strongly enclosed with a high palisado of great trees,[3] with cortynes and flankers very Fort-like,[4] and one of the chiefe trees or postes at the right side of the entrance had the barke taken off, and 5. foote from the ground in fayre Capitall letters was grauen CROATOAN without any crosse or signe of distresse; this done, we entred into the palisado, where we found many barres of Iron, two pigges of Lead, foure yron fowlers, Iron sacker-shotte, and such like heauie things, throwen here and there, almost ouergrowen with grasse and weedes.[5] From thence wee went along by the water side,

before White left for home, had not intended to move on there. If so, however, White's insistence on trying first to find them on Roanoke Island shows that, whatever the plan when he left, he still thought that they, or some of them, would be at Roanoke, or in its vicinity. Unless new evidence on the 'Lost Colony' emerges, little more can usefully be said.

[1] The site of the houses has not been established by excavation, but it may probably be implied that they lay between the 1585 fort and the Indian village, the sequence from North West Point south-eastwards being—village, houses, fort (cp. pp. 902–10 below).

[2] The removal of the houses, if they were brick, lath and plaster, as may perhaps be assumed (cp. p. 902), might possibly suggest that some of their material was transported by water to the site of the new settlement. This would be appropriate enough for a site on Albemarle Sound or on Croatoan Island, but not for one on Chesapeake Bay.

[3] The new enclosure (a stockade without a ditch) was some little distance from the old fort site, to the north-west of the fort ditch as excavated by Mr J. C. Harrington (cp. pp. 902–3).

[4] Cp. the entrenchments round the first fort (pp. 903–6).

[5] The scattering of the materials may have been done by the Indians. The guns are not unlikely to have been those left in 1586 (cp. p. 904) and they remained on the site for a very long time. The saker-shot are likely to have been there since 1585. To have left such debris was not surprising, as it could not easily be carried by boat, but to leave iron bars and pigs of lead, which were necessary for the forge which the settlers are likely to have had and for bullet-making, argues some possible haste in departure.

towards the poynt of the Creeke[1] to see if we could find any of their botes or Pinnisse,[2] but we could perceiue no signe of them, nor any of the last Falkons and small Ordinance which were left with them, at my departure from them.[3] At our returne from the Creeke, some of our Saylers meeting vs, tolde vs that they had found where diuers chests had bene hidden, and long sithence digged vp againe and broken vp, and much of the goods in them spoyled and scattered about, but nothing left, of such things as the Sauages knew any vse of, vndefaced. Presently Captaine Cooke and I went to the place, which was in the ende of an olde trench, made two yeeres past[4] by Captaine Amadas: wheere wee found fiue Chests, that had been carefully hidden of the Planters, and of the same chests three were my owne,[5] and about the place many of my things spoyled and broken, and my bookes torne from the couers, the frames of some of my pictures and Mappes rotten and spoyled with rayne, and my armour almost eaten through with rust;[6] this could bee no other but the deede of the

[1] To the east of the stockade, probably where a sandspit now projects into Roanoke Sound. The shoreline has, however, been substantially eroded (p. 862).

[2] This is the only indication that the pinnace had been left with the colonists. The implications of Hakluyt's evidence (pp. 547–8) are, apparently, that Stafford sailed her home. Is White being accurate, or, as in the case of Amadas below, absentminded? If she was at their disposal the colonists were clearly much more mobile than they would otherwise have been. If so, why did they leave so much behind them?

[3] The removal of the smaller pieces of artillery clearly suggested to White that the settlers had got away in good order.

[4] Taken literally, 1588, which makes no sort of sense. Even if we take it to mean 1587 it appears very unlikely that Philip Amadas had been with the expedition of that year, Miss Wright's suggestion that he was (*Further English voyages*, p. xxiii) not being based on any further evidence. What White is most likely to have meant is 'two years before I was here last', i.e. 1585. It is most probable therefore, that the sailors had been working over the site of the old fort-enclosure, and thus led White to provide us with some evidence that Amadas had some share in the construction of the ditch which Mr Harrington has excavated (cp. p. 905).

[5] White's emphasis on the care of his belongings during his absence in England is recorded above (p. 534), and it is clear that he did not blame the planters for leaving his possessions behind, as they had done their best to safeguard them.

[6] The equipment specified is that of a man of some education and position and is a slight sidelight on his biography. The fact that he specifies his framed

Sauages our enemies at Dasamongwepeuk,[1] who had watched the departure of our men to Croatoan; and assoone as they were departed, digged vp euery place where they suspected any thing to be buried: but although it much grieued me to see such spoyle of my goods, yet on the other side I greatly ioyed that I had safely found a certaine token of their safe being at Croatoan, which is the place where Manteo was borne, and the Sauages of the Iland our friends.[2]

When we had seene in this place so much as we could, we returned to our Boates, and departed from the shoare towards our Shippes, with as much speede as we could: For the weather beganne to ouercast, and very likely that a foule and stormie night would ensue. Therefore the same Euening with much danger and labour, we got our selues aboard, by which time the winde and seas were so greatly risen, that wee doubted our Cables and Anchors would scarcely holde vntill Morning; wherefore the Captaine[3] caused the Boate to be manned with fiue lusty men, who could swimme all well, and sent them to the little Iland on the right hand of the Harbour,[4] to bring aboard sixe of our men, who had filled our

maps and pictures is, however, a strong link in the chain which ties the painter of the 1585–6 colony with the governor of the 1587 settlement (cp. pp. 42–3).

[1] The seat of the Roanoke tribe was, since 1586, at Dasemunkepeuc on the mainland (cp. p. 527), but it is not known who was its chieftain.

[2] White's assumption that the settlers had gone to Croatoan was a reasonable one and explains, amongst other things, why he described in detail the soundings recently made at the mouth of the channels dividing Hatarask and Croatoan Islands (pp. 864–6 above). The main Indian settlement on Croatoan appears to have been near the southern side of the inlet, near the present village of Buxton. White had previously told us that Manteo's mother lived on Croatoan (p. 526 above), but this is the first time we are told that Manteo's own home was there. The indications are that the Croatoan Indians formed a tribe separate from those of Roanoke Island. Had the colonists been there some time, however, it is strange that they had not moved the discarded metal and the buried chests a mere fifty miles across the sounds. It is also strange that, except for a single counter (or jetton, cp. p. 908 below), no artifacts have been found on the island (now part of Hatteras Island) which can be associated with them.

[3] Abraham Cocke.

[4] White is regarding the Banks from the seaward side and refers to the small island between Port Ferdinando and Port Lane (p. 863). It was, however, a surprising place to have found a supply of fresh water (cp. pp. 611, 811).

caske with fresh water: the Boate the same night returned aboard with our men, but all our Caske ready filled they left behinde,[1] vnpossible to bee had aboard without danger of casting away both men and Boates; for this night prooued very stormie and foule.

The next Morning it was agreed by the Captaine and my selfe, with the Master and others, to wey anchor, and goe for the place at Croatoan, where our planters were: for that then the winde was good for that place, and also to leaue that Caske with fresh water on shoare in the Iland vntill our returne. So then they brought the cable to the Capston, but when the anchor was almost apecke,[2] the Cable broke, by meanes whereof we lost another Anchor, wherewith we droue so fast into the shoare, that wee were forced to let fall a third Anchor; which came so fast home that the Shippe was almost aground by Kenricks mounts: so that wee were forced to let slippe the Cable ende for ende. And if it had not chanced that wee had fallen into a chanell of deeper water, closer by the shoare then wee accompted of, wee could neuer have gone cleare of the poynt that lyeth to the Southwardes of Kenricks mounts.[3] Being thus cleare of some dangers, and gotten into deeper waters, but not without some losse; for wee had but one Cable and Anchor left vs of foure, and the weather grew to be fouler and fouler; our victuals scarse,[4] and our caske and fresh water lost: it was therefore determined that we should goe for Saint Iohn[5] or some other Iland to the Southward for fresh water. And it was further purposed, that if wee could any wayes supply our wants of victuals and other necessaries, either at Hispaniola, Sant Iohn, or Trynidad, that then wee should continue in the Indies all the Winter following, with

[1] Leaving a second supply of English barrels on shore. This time, however, they are unlikely to have been found by a Spanish expedition (cp. p. 811 below).

[2] A misprint for 'apeake'.

[3] This was Cape Kenrick, cp. p. 864 below.

[4] Privateers were normally victualled for six months. The *Hopewell* had now been out five and the *Moonlight* about three, so that the latter's stores should not have been too badly depleted.

[5] Puerto Rico.

hope to make 2. rich voyages of one, and at our returne to visit our countrymen at Virginia.[1] The captaine and the whole company in the Admirall (with my earnest petitions) thereunto agreed, so that it rested onely to knowe what the Master of the Moone-light[2] our consort would doe herein. But when we demanded them if they would accompany vs in that new determination, they alleged that their weake and leake Shippe was not able to continue it; wherefore the same night we parted, leauing the Moone-light to goe directly for England, and the Admirall set his course for Trynidad, which course we kept two dayes.

They leaue the coast of Virginia.

On the 28. the winde changed, and it was sette on foule weather euery way: but this storme brought the winde West and North-west, and blewe so forcibly, that wee were able to beare no sayle, but our fore-course halfe mast high, wherewith wee ranne vpon the winde perforce, the due course for England, for that wee were dryuen to change our first determination for Trynidad,[3] and stoode for the Ilands of Açores, where wee purposed to take in fresh water, and also there hoped to meete with some English men of warre about those Ilands, at whose hands wee might obtaine some supply of our wants.[4] And thus continuing our course for the Açores, sometimes with calmes, and sometimes with very scarce windes, on the fifteenth of September the winde came South Southeast, and blew so exceedingly, that wee were forced to lye atry[5] all that day. At this time by account we iudged our selues to be about

[1] It seems highly probable that the intention had been to winter with the colonists and return to the West Indies in the spring. The reversal of this procedure was practical only with specialized knowledge of the Caribbean and some good fortune. The *Black Dog* had wintered there in 1588–9 (p. 557).

[2] John Bedford (pp. 638–40 below) who had been in command since Captain Spicer's death.

[3] The choice of Trinidad is interesting. It had not yet been colonized by the Spaniards, nor was it frequented by the English. It was probably Cocke, from his experiences in South America and in the West Indies, who knew about its considerable possibilities as a winter base.

[4] The plans for the converging of the English privateers on the Azores in September were known to the Spaniards (cp. pp. 587–8 above).

[5] Holding the vessel hove to by means of sails set fore and aft.

twentie leagues to the West of Cueruo and Flores, but about night the storme ceased, and fayre weather ensued.

On Thursday the seuenteenth wee saw Cueruo and Flores, but we could not come to anker that night, by reason the winde shifted. The next Morning being the eighteenth, standing in againe with Cueruo, we escryed a sayle ahead vs, to whom we gaue chase: but when wee came neere him, we knew him to be a Spanyard, and hoped to make sure purchase of him; but we vnderstood at our speaking with him, that he was a prize, and of the Domingo fleete already taken by the Iohn our consort, in the Indies.[1] We learned also of this prize, that our Viceadmirall and Pinnisse[2] had fought with the rest of the Domingo fleete, and had forced them with their Admirall to flee vnto Iamaica vnder the Fort for succour, and some of them ran themselues aground, whereof one of them they brought away, and tooke out of some others so much as the time would permit.[3] And further wee vnderstood of them, that in their returne from Iamaica about the Organes neere Cape Saint Anthony, our Viceadmirall mette with two Shippes of the mayne land, come from Mexico, bound for Hauana, with whom he fought:[4] in which fight our Viceadmirals Lieutenant was slaine, and the Captaines right arme strooken off,[5] with foure other of his men slaine, and sixteene hurt, But in the ende he entred, and tooke one of the Spanish shippes, which was so sore shot by vs vnder water, that before they could take out her treasure, she sunke; so that we lost thirteene Pipes of siluer which sunke with her, besides

13. Pipes of siluer.

[1] Her prize crew was probably drawn from both the *Little John* and from the *John Evangelist*. Her lading was wood and hides. It is by no means certain that she had belonged to the Santo Domingo fleet. For a discussion of her apparent identity see pp. 595, 689.

[2] The *Little John* and the *John Evangelist*.

[3] Cp. pp. 688, 690–1. The Spanish evidence is in Wright, *Further English voyages*, pp. lxxviii, 255–6.

[4] Cp. pp. 689–91; Wright, *Further English voyages*, pp. 247–9, 262.

[5] Captain Christopher Newport lost his arm, or at least his hand. His lieutenant's name is not known. Newport's laconic deposition mentions nothing of these events (pp. 690–2).

much other rich marchandize.[1] And in the meane time the other Spanish shippe being pearced with nine shotte under water, got away;[2] whom our Viceadmirall intended to pursue: but some of their men in the toppe made certaine rockes, which they saw aboue water neere the shoare, to be Gallies of Hauana and Cartagena, comming from Hauana to rescue the two Ships;[3] Wherefore they gaue ouer their chase, and went for England. After this intelligence was giuen vs by this our prize, he departed from vs, and went for England.[4]

On Saturday the 19. of September we came to an Ancre neere a small village on the North side of Flores, where we found ryding 5. English men of warre, of whom wee vnderstood that our Viceadmirall and Prize[5] were gone thence for England. One of these fiue was the Moonelight our consort, who vpon the first sight of our comming into Flores, set sayle and went for England, not taking any leaue of vs.[6]

On Sunday the 20. the Mary Rose,[7] Admirall of the Queenes fleete, wherein was Generall Sir Iohn Hawkins,[8] stood in with Flores, and diuers other of the Queenes ships, namely the Hope,

[1] The ship was that commanded by Juan de Borde (or Diego de Bode). Cp. p. 692 below; Wright, *Further English voyages*, pp. 247–9, 262.

[2] She was the *Nuestra Señora del Rosario*, Miguel de Acosta master (ibid.).

[3] Cristóbal de Pantoxa did leave Havana with the *San Agustín* and *Brava* galleys at about the right time and about 27 July/6 August picked up the crew of the stranded ship near where they had put ashore (Wright, *Further English voyages*, pp. lxxviii, 250). The probabilities are, therefore, that the look-outs were not mistaken.

[4] She was probably the prize which reached Plymouth in October (pp. 595, 689), her arrival has not been found noted.

[5] The prize may have been either the Cuba vessel just mentioned or the *Buen Jesus*. The allegation that the latter met the *Little John* and handed over some ginger and other goods at the Azores was made later by Sanderson.

[6] Bedford and his men were evidently uneasy that they had not kept their promise to go direct to England.

[7] The *Mary Rose* (600–800 tons) was the largest of the older ships in the Queen's fleet (Williamson, *Hawkins of Plymouth*, p. 259).

[8] Williamson, *Age of Drake*, p. 379, mentions that Hawkins moved out to the Azores when Frobisher's squadron ran out of supplies. He does not deal with this episode in his *Hawkins of Plymouth*.

the Nonpareilia, The Rainebow, the Swift-sure, the Foresight,[1] with many other good merchants ships of warre, as the Edward Bonauenture, the Marchant Royal, the Amitie, the Eagle,[2] the Dainty of sir Iohn Hawkins, and many other good ships and pinnisses, all attending to meete with the king of Spaines fleete, comming from Terra firma of the West Indies.[3]

The 22. of September we went aboard the Raynebow, and towards night we spake with the Swift-sure, and gaue him 3. pieces. The captaines desired our company; wherefore we willingly attended on them: who at this time with 10. other ships stood for Faial. But the Generall with the rest of the Fleete were separated from vs, making two fleetes, for the surer meeting with the Spanish fleete.

On Wednesday the 23. we saw Gratiosa, where the Admiral and the rest of the Queens fleete were come together. The Admirall put forth a flag of counsel, in which was determined that the whole fleete should go for the mayne, and spred themselues on the coasts of Spaine and Portugal, so farre as conueniently they might, for the surer meeting of the Spanish fleete in those parts.[4]

The 26. we came to Faial, where the Admiral with some other of the fleete ankred, othersome plyed vp and downe betweene that

[1] The *Hope*, the *Nonpareil* (middle-sized ships, of 450–600 tons), the *Swiftsure* and the *Foresight* (smaller ships, under 400 tons) were all old vessels. The *Rainbow* was built in 1587, and was of about 400 tons (cp. Williamson, *Hawkins of Plymouth*, pp. 258, 260, 279).

[2] The *Edward Bonaventure* of London, 250 tons, James Lancaster captain (Thomas Cordell owner); the *Merchant Royal* of London, 350 tons, Samuel Foxcroft captain (Thomas Cordell owner); the *Amity* of London, 100 tons, Walter Crunnelowe captain (Henry Colthurst and partners owners); the *Eagle* of London (tonnage not known; in 1589 her captain had been Henry White, and her owners Henry Colthurst and partners) (Andrews, 'Elizabethan privateering', pp. 229–30, 238–9, 258).

[3] Pedro Menéndez Marqués had reached Spain with the treasure, unknown to the blockading forces, on 4/14 September (p. 815 below), while on 31 July/9 August the decision had been taken at Havana to hold the fleets there until 1591 (Wright, *Further English voyages*, pp. lxxviii–lxxix).

[4] The decision to put back towards the Spanish coast probably meant that the English ships picked up a few extra prizes, but they did not stay long in Spanish waters, being home by the end of October.

and the Pico[1] vntill midnight, at which time the Antony[2] shot off a piece and weyed, shewing his light: after whom the whole fleete stood to the East, the winde at Northeast by East.

On Sunday the 27. towards Euening wee tooke our leaue of the Admirall and the whole fleete, who stood to the East. But our shippe accompanied with a Flyboate stoode in againe with S. George, where we purposed to take in more fresh water, and some other fresh victuals.

On Wednesday the 30. of September, seeing the winde hang so Northerly, that wee could not atteine the Iland of S. George, we gaue ouer our purpose to water there, and the next day framed our due course for England.[3]

October.

The 2. of October in the Morning we saw S. Michaels Iland on our Starre board quarter.

The 23. at 10. of the clocke afore noone, we saw Vshant in Britaigne.

On Saturday the 24. we came in safetie, God be thanked, to an anker at Plymmouth.[4]

[1] Pico is the island nearest to Fayal to the east.

[2] The *Anthony* was probably the Earl of Cumberland's ship of that name, though she has not been heard of before 1593 (Purchas, *Pilgrims*, XVI, 18).

[3] Circumstances for obtaining stores of food, at least, were not propitious off the Azores, and may be held partly responsible for the decision to depart from the former resolution to return from the Azores to the West Indies and thence to Virginia. It is likely, however, that the crew of the *Hopewell* were also concerned about the possible loss of prize-money if they did not return as soon as possible.

[4] Proceedings in the High Court of Admiralty as to the *Buen Jesus* had been set in motion by 11 October, and Captain Cocke and his master, Robert Hutton, were examined on 10 November, by which time it is probable that the *Hopewell* had been brought round to London.

90. 11 OCTOBER 1590.

THE PRIVY COUNCIL TO DR JULIUS CAESAR[1]

After our hartie commendacons. By the complaint enclosed,[2] exhibited vnto vs by Thomas Middleton, in the behalfe of himselfe and others against one Hallett who (as is alleaged) hath and doth practise to defraude them of their parte and share of a certen prize taken by them Iointlie, as by the said complainte shall more at large appeare: And whereas it is by the plaintiffes desired, that the goods of the said prize might be sequestred vntill the cause may be heard, and ordred between them, and the rest: we haue thought good to recommend the same vnto yo^{w}, and hereby to require you, to giue p*rese*nte order that no parte of the goods be purloined and for that purpose (if you shall soe cause) you may graunt a sequestrac*i*on thereof into the hands of some indifferent p*er*sonnes, vntill by orderly course of tryall it shall appeare what part thereof may app*er*taine vnto the plaintiffes: vnlesse by good persauc*i*on yo^{w} can induce the parties on both sides, to yeild to some freindlie end, by way of Composicon or arbitrement. And so referring the same to yo*ur* extraordinary care, for the bett*er* releife of the plainetifes: we bid yo^{w} hartely farewell. From the Court at Windsor the xjth of October 1590.

Yo*ur* louing freinds

CHR: HATTON: CANC.	W. BURGHLEY	C HOWARD
HOUNSDON[3]	H COBHAM[4]	I WOLLEY[5]

Judg of the Admiralty

[*Addressed:*] To our verie loving frende M*aster* Doctor Caesare Iudg of her M*aiestie* [*sic*] Court of the Admiraltie./

[1] P.R.O., H.C.A. 14/27, no. 73 (for the reference to which I am indebted to Dr K. R. Andrews).

[2] Not now attached.

[3] Henry Carey, 1st Baron Hunsdon, father of Sir George Carey.

[4] Sir Henry Cobham (1538–?1605).

[5] Sir John Wolley (d. 1596).

91. 13 OCTOBER 1590.

SEQUESTRATION ORDER ON BEHALF OF THOMAS MIDDLETON, JAMES BAGGE, AND NICHOLAS GLANVILLE[1]

Draft order by the judge of the admiralty for the sequestration of the ship and goods brought as a prize to the Thames by Hallett,[2] at the complaint of Thomas Midleton, James Bagge and Nicholas Glandvill. 13 October 1590.

92. 19 OCTOBER 1590.

THOMAS MIDDLETON, JAMES BAGGE AND NICHOLAS GLANVILLE, ETC.[3] *v.* ROBERT HALLETT[4]

Henry Cletherow, ironmonger, and John Stokes, fishmonger, both of London, stand sureties for Hallett and are bound in £3000 to Midleton, etc. for the contending of the action begun by Midleton, etc. and for the appearance of Hallett.

93. 23 OCTOBER 1590.

THOMAS MIDDLETON, JAMES BAGGE AND NICHOLAS GLANVILLE, ETC. *v.* ROBERT HALLETT[5]

Clerke senior[6] shows procuration for Midleton etc., and Hugh Midleton, goldsmith, and Erasmus Harvye stand as sureties for Midleton, etc., for the prosecution of the suit. The libel is presented and declared valid.[7] Clerke junior for the defence denies the

[1] Abstract. P.R.O., H.C.A. 14/27, no. 118 (last leaf).

[2] A blank is left for his Christian name.

[3] Apart from Bagge and Glanville Middleton's associates included William Finch. For the four, see Andrews, 'Elizabethan privateering', pp. 241–3, 307.

[4] Abstract, translated. P.R.O., H.C.A. 3/21. Joined with Hallett in the defence, though not named in the earliest stage of the case, were John Watts and his partners.

[5] Abstract, translated. P.R.O., H.C.A. 3/21.

[6] Counsel for the plaintiffs, apparently John Clerke, one of the proctors general of the court (Marsden, *Select pleas*, II, 85), counsel for the defence being Francis Clerke or Clarke (*DNB*).

[7] The 'libel', the plaintiffs' written statement of their case, is P.R.O., H.C.A. 24/58, no. 126, fo. 199. On it the plaintiffs' witnesses were examined.

positions.[1] Hallett is produced, sworn and warned to reply to the positions.[2] For the plaintiffs Henry Millett,[3] John Tayler,[4] Thomas Harding[5] and Henry Swanne[6] are produced as witnesses to the libel.

94. 24 OCTOBER 1590.

THOMAS MIDDLETON, JAMES BAGGE, AND NICHOLAS GLANVILLE, ETC. *v.* ROBERT HALLETT[7]

Clerke senior, for the plaintiffs, produces Hugh Harding,[8] John Bedford,[9] and William Cable[10] as further witnesses to the libel.

95. OCTOBER 1590.

DEPOSITIONS IN REPLY TO THE ARTICLES OF THOMAS MIDDLETON ETC., PLAINTIFFS[11]

(*a*) 26 October 1590. Henry Millett of Poole, seaman, aged 24 years or thereabouts.

Ad primum articulum libelli in hac causa dati affirmat in visu sui suscripti iuramenti That the articulate shippe the Conclude in

[1] Counsel for the defence put in an 'allegation' on behalf of his chief (P.R.O., H.C.A. 24 58, no. 121, fo. 193); on which his witnesses were examined when the propositions in it had been drawn up as 'articles'. The allegation named John Stookes (Stokes) as one of Watts's partners (cp. Andrews, 'Elizabethan privateering', p. 242).

[2] The defendant could put in a 'personal answer' (cp. pp. 682–7 below) to the articles.

[3] Pp. 625–8 below. [4] Pp. 629–31 below.

[5] Pp. 632–4 below.

[6] Pp. 640–2 below. They were all subject, in addition, to cross-examination on 'interrogatories' put in by the defence. All were from the *Moonlight*.

[7] Abstract, translated. P.R.O., H.C.A. 3/21.

[8] Pp. 642–6 below. [9] Pp. 638–40 below.

[10] *Recte* William Davell, pp. 634–8 below.

[11] All seven depositions are in P.R.O., H.C.A. 13/28 under date. In the heading the information as to how long the witness had known the parties has been cut, as also the phrase 'Ac aliter nescit' at the end of most answers. The articles on behalf of the plaintiffs, Thomas Middleton, James Bagge and Nicholas Glanville to which these are answers have not been found. The interrogatories on behalf of the defendant, together with the answers in cross-examination which follow in these depositions, have been combined in document no. 96, pp. 647–81 below.

the monethe of Maye laste went from Plimouthe[1] with lettres of Reprisall against the kinge of Spaine & his subiectes[2] being furnished & sett furth by Iames Bagge & others as the reporte went For this examinate wente to sea from Plimouthe in the Monelighte in company of the Conclude with the like aucthority.

Ad secundum attestatur verissimum esse that one Harris wente Captaine of the said shippe the Conclude and Hugh Hardinge Master of this examinates knowledge goinge to sea in theire company.

Ad tertium affirmat that the articulate thre shipp the Conclude, the Harry & Iohn and the Moone lighte whereof the articulate persons were Captaines and Masters mett togeather at Cape de Berowne in the Indies[3] and within short space after the same day in the eveninge they discryed a Flete of shippes wherevnto they gave chase and in that nighte they loste one an other: Whiche he knoweth to be true For that this examinate was Masters mate in one of the said thre shippes called the Monelighte at that presente.

Ad quartum quintum sextum septimum octavum et nonum articulos affirmat that the said thre shipps and two others called the Little Iohn of London and the Iohn Evangeliste of London beinge all in companye at the said Cape and escrienge the said Fleete in the eveninge vnder sayle they appoyncted to scatter them selves in the sea with intente to meete with the said Fleete in the morninge, and soe devidinge them selves and gevinge chase yt happened that one shipp of the said Flete leavinge the reste of the

[1] A precise date for leaving Plymouth is nowhere given in the series.

[2] Letters of reprisal had not been issued when she left England. Dated 12 June, a draft of a commission for the issue of letters of reprisals against Spaniards to Nicholas Glanville of Tavistock was given for the *Elizabeth Glanville*, 80 tons, John Facy captain (cp. pp. 476, 486–8 above), the *Nicholas* of Plymouth, 40 tons, John Rowe captain and master, and the *Conclude*, 50 tons, Joseph Harris captain and Hugh Hardyn master (H.C.A. 12/27, 45). From this it would appear that Harris took advantage of the departure of the *Moonlight* to slip away ahead of the other two ships. Nothing further is known of the other two vessels' activities in 1590 (cp. Andrews, 'Elizabethan privateering', pp. 307, 309, 314).

[3] 2 July (p. 605).

Fleete (as yt seemed) was mett withall in the nighte tyme changinge her course first by the Conclude to the ex*aminates* iudgemente, and when the day began to appeare both the Moone Lighte and the Harry and Iohn and the Conclude were all in company with the said spanishe shippe, and all thre shipps foughte with her aboute an howers space, or better,[1] and then the company of the said spanishe shippe yealded to them, and all thre boates of the said thre shipps the Harry and Iohn the Conclude and the Monelighte wente on borde the said spanishe shippe and tooke her.

Savinge that eyther the Conclude or the Harry and Iohn caried a lighte the same nighte[2] that they gave chase to the said shippe For this ex*aminat*e was m*aster*s mate of the said shipp the Monelighte & sawe the said lighte & thereby followed the same, not beinge farre distante at that p*resen*te.

Ad decimu*m* dicit the said spanish shipp was a borded and taken by the companyes of the Conclude the Harry & Iohn & the Monelighte, and ioynctly possessed bye them without eany contraction of eany p*ar*te at that p*resen*te, and the pilladge taken amongst them of this ex*aminate*s knowledge beinge presente thereat.[3]

And Abraham Cocke beinge Admirall claymed the Ancient of silke which one of the company of the Monelighte had gotten, and yt was delivered him.[4]

Ad vndecimu*m* attestatur verissimu*m* esse that yt was concluded and aggreed betwixte the Captaines & m*aster*s of the said thre shippes the Harry & Iohn, the Conclude & the Monelighte that some of every of these shipps company should be putt on borde the prize and the Spaniardes devided some into every of the said thre shipps and soe yt was donne and victualls taken out of every

[1] Contested (pp. 660–1, 697–8 below).

[2] On the light, see pp. 630, 633, 636, 641, 643, 651–4, 684 below.

[3] Pillage was spoil taken on deck and belonged to the boarder who seized it. In fact it meant any portable spoil the captors could lay hands on. The participation of the men from the *Conclude* in pillaging is contested (pp. 627, 637, 644, 663–4, 685 below), but no witness is specific about what they obtained.

[4] Cp. p. 645 below.

shipp portion for portion & putt into the prize to bringe her home / of this ex*aminate*s knowledge beinge presente thereat when they were soe placed on borde, and sente to bringe her into Englande[1] Howe longe they continued all on borde he knoweth not for that he remayned still in the Monelighte which shaped her course for Virginia after the prize was sente away.[2]

Ad duodecimu*m* dicit veru*m* esse that Robe*r*te Hallett was appoyncted M*aste*r of the said spanishe shippe to bringe her into England with consente of the Captaines m*aste*rs & companyes of the said thre shippes to his knowledge. And the ex*aminat*e knoweth not the contrary but that yt was then mente that vppon the arrivall of the said prize in England every of the said thre shippes was to haue and should haue theire part*e*s out of the said prize accordinge to theire severall burthens & nu*m*ber of men.[3]

Ad decimu*m* tertiu*m* dicit yt ys a thinge manifeste that Robe*r*te Hallett & his company did dispossesse such p*e*rsons of the Conclude*s* company as were put on borde with him into the prize[4] But this ex*aminat*e was not presente thereat.

Ad decimu*m* quartu*m* dicit the Spaniarde*s* taken in the said prize did esteeme the said prize with her whole ladinge of goode*s* & money to be worth twenty thousande*s* pounde*s* & soo much they tould this ex*aminate*s company the said prize was worth.[5]

Ad xv nescit deponere.

Ad xvj et xvij nescit deponere.

Ad xviij dicit the plaintiffe*s* are dampnified by reason such portion of the said prize as was due vnto them ys deteyned from them But to what valeue he knoweth not.

Ad xix et xx refert se ad iura*ndum*.

Ad vlt*imum* dicit predeposita p*er* eu*m* esse vera &c.

[1] The statements are not contested, but they are differently interpreted (cp. pp. 608, 644–6, 663–9, 685–6).

[2] 31 July (p. 608 above).

[3] The evidence on this point is not conclusive. It appears to have been assumed on 3 July that the prize would be shared, but cp. pp. 645, 685.

[4] Cp. pp. 645–6, 685–6 below.

[5] Cp. pp. 702–3 below, and the English appraisement, pp. 692–5.

(*b*) 26 October 1590. John Tayler of Hepitre, near Exeter, seaman, aged 25 years or thereabouts.

Ad primum et secundum articulos libelli in hac causa dicti deponit he knoweth that in somme of the articulate monethes the articulate shippe the Conclude wente to sea From Plimouth havinge Ioseph Harris for Captaine & Hugh Hardinge for master with lettres of Reprisall and as he herde the same ship was sett out by Master Bagge Master Glandvell & others: For this examinate wente to sea in a shippe called the Monelighte in company of the said Conclude.

Ad tertium quartum quintum sextum et septimum articulos deponit et attestatur that this examinate beinge gonner of the Moonelighte doth knowe true yt ys that the Conclude & Monelighte wente from Plimouthe togeather in company in May laste, And commminge nere S^t^ Domingo they escried xiij sayles of shipps which were scattered farre a sondrye and they drove them togeather, And as they mente to haue sett vppon them a greate flawe of winde & rayne began soe as they could not beere a saile and nighte beinge at hande the Fleete wente all into the rode of S^t^ Domingo[1] Whereupon the Monelighte & Conclude were forced to sayle away and came to Cape Tabrowne there thinkinge to lye in waite for the said Fleete And sayth that when they came to Cape Tabrowne they found there the Harry & Iohn, the Little Iohn & the Iohn Evangeliste of master Wattes of London togeather with one prize & two frigottes which they had taken before[2] leeinge all at anker, And they escrienge the Conclude & Monelighte wayed ankers & made towardes them thinkinge them to be Spaniardes and commminge nere one knewe an other for the Monelighte whereof this examinate was gonner was in consorte with those thre shipps of master Wattes. And sayth that the Captaines & masters commminge on borde to make merye & vnderstand what newes out of Englande, theye had not continued there above haulfe an hower or thereaboutes[3] But

[1] This was about 30 June or 1 July (cp. p. 635 below). The Spaniards had left Santo Domingo on 27 June/7 July (Wright, *Further English voyages*, p. 249).

[2] Cp. pp. 601–4.

[3] Other witnesses said two hours (cp. p. 672).

one of those shipps had escried the said Fleete of xiij shipps and gave a signe thereof to the reste, soe as every man made to his owne shippe and *presen*tely gave chase to the Fleete beinge righte a heade of them and the Conclude beinge the best sayler of that companye before nighte came which drewe nere was gotten a heade of all the english shipps makinge towardes the Fleete, And nighte com*m*inge on this ex*amina*te & company in the Monelighte beinge nexte to the Harry & Iohn kepte nere vnto her and shortly after the Conclude bare vppe with the Monelighte & this ex*aminate*s company asked of the Conclude*s* company what shipp that was a heade and they answered yt was a greate Spaniard and then this ex*amina*te & company in the Monelighte did beare vpp with the Harry & Iohn & demaunded likewise of her what shipp that was and they also answered yt was a Spaniard [1] and soe they kepte with the Spaniarde as the Conclude did vntill the morninge in which tyme he sayth this ex*aminate*s company as they affirmed sawe a lighte borne by one of the shipps eyther the Conclude or the Harry & Iohn and soe followed the same, And in the morninge the Harry & Iohn first began fighte vppon the said Spaniarde and the Conclude and the Monelighte followed, And soe all the shipps foughte with her aboute a hower space,[2] and at the laste the Spaniardes yealded & stroke sayles, And all thre boatte*s* with men of every shippe aborded and tooke her and rifled such pilladge as they found amongst them, and were quietly possessed of the said prize amongst them without eany question made of dislike that this ex*amina*te beinge of the company of the Monelighte that tooke the said prize did knowe of or perceave/.

Ad octavu*m* nonu*m* decimu*m* et vndecimu*m* attestatur verissimu*m* esse that after the said spanishe shipp nowe in controversye was aborded & taken by the said thre shippes the Harry & Iohn

[1] This was a crucial point, as it concerned the first identification of the ship ahead as a Spanish one: it is corroborated (pp. 635, 639, 643 below) and denied (p. 683 below).

[2] The Spanish captain agreed that all three vessels fired on the *Buen Jesus*, but said the fight went on for four hours (Wright, *Further English voyages*, p. 250, cp. p. 253; cp. pp. 697–8 below).

the Monelighte & the Conclude and quietly possessed by them yt was concluded by the Captaines & masters of every shipps [*sic*] that the Spaniardes taken in the said prize should be devided into the said thre shipps and certaine men of every those thre shipps putt into the prize to bringe her into Englande and accordinge to that aggreemente spaniardes were putt into the Conclude & thother shippes, & englishe man placed in the Spaniardes some out of every of those thre shipps that tooke the same to bringe her into Englande.[1] Since which tyme this examinate was not of minde otherwise but that the said prize vppon her arrivall in Englande should haue byn shared amongst their thre shippes with out eany question or contradiction, And he seeth no reason to the contrary but that every such shipp should haue her parte accordingly beinge all takers of the said prize Vt dicit.

Ad duodecimum dicit yt was ordered in England by master Wattes before the goyinge furth of the said shipps that Roberte Hallett should come home master of the first prize that his shipps should take And therevppon the masters Captaines & companyes of the said thre shippes aggreed that the said Hallett should goe master of the said prize for England[2] Vt dicit / of this examinates knowledge beinge presente at the same/.

Ad xiij deponit Roberte Hallett with his company placed in the spanish prize whereof some were taken furth of the Conclude wente away for England quietly possessed togeather of the same prize when they lefte the Monelighte What befell afterwardes he knoweth not.

Ad xiiij^{um} dicit he herd yt amongst his company that the Spaniardes gave out the said prize was worth xx thowsand poundes.

Ad xv nescit deponere/.

Ad xvj et xvij nescit deponere/.

Ad xviij xix et xx^{um} nescit plura dicete quam prius dictum est.

Ad vltimum dicit predeposita per eum esse vera &c.

[1] Cp. pp. 663–9, 685–6.

[2] It is contested that the three captains agreed to Hallett's appointment (pp. 639–40, 685; and cp. pp. 634, 637, 642, 645).

(*c*) 27 October 1590. Thomas Harden of Newcastle, seaman, aged 22 years or thereabouts.

Ad primu*m* et secundu*m* affirmat he knoweth that aboute May laste the Conclude of Plimouthe whereof Ioseph Harris was Captaine and Hugh Hardinge M*aste*r was victualed & sett furth to sea from Plimouth by M*aste*r Bagge & one Finche[1] as the same wente with Reprisalls against the Spaniard*es* For this ex*amina*te wente to the sea in the Monelighte in company of the said Conclude.

Ad tertiu*m* quartu*m* quintu*m* sextu*m* septimu*m* octavum nonu*m* et decimu*m* articulas in vnu*m* sui iuramenti attestatur verissimu*m* esse That after the Conclude and the Monelighte putt to sea in companye they directed theire course to the Indies and com*m*inge nere S^{t} Domingo they escried a Fleete of Spaniard*es* whom they chased and by reason of foule weather they lefte the Fleete & soe made towards Cape Tabroune there thinkinge to meete with the Fleete agayne And com*m*inge to Cape Tabroune they found there the Hary & Iohn, the Iohn & the Iohn Evangeliste with whom the Monelighte wherein this ex*amina*te [was] a quarter m*aste*r was consorted before there goynge out of Englande,[2] and after they had saluted one an other and were makinge [merry] within two houres after to his iudgemente one of the shipps escried the said Fleete againe and gave warninge thereof to the reste of the shippes beinge towards the eveninge Wherevppon all the said shippes p*rese*ntelye made with the Fleete with all the force they mighte and as the nighte came they loste sighte of all the Fleete and theire consort*es* also and aboute thre houres after this ex*amina*te & company bearinge with the Harry & Iohn beinge a heade of them, some of the company sayd that they had talked before with the Conclude and were tould by her that a spanishe shippe was a heade, and shortly after the Conclude spake with the Moneshyne [*sic*][3] and

[1] William Finch of Plymouth (Andrews, 'Elizabethan privateering', p. 307), a victualler of the *Conclude*.

[2] This was endorsed by Hallett, but contested by his principal John Watts (cp. pp. 683, 695–6 below).

[3] For 'Monelighte'.

toulde this ex*amina*te & company the like, and soe made after the prize and kepte with her all the nighte as the Harry & Iohn, and Monelighte also did. And in the morninge when the lighte appeared the spanishe shippe was assaulted both by the Harry & Iohn & the Conclude & the Monelighte beinge all togeather, and forced by them to yealde vnto them, And vppon yealdinge every of those thre shippes the Harry & Iohn, the Conclude & Monelighte entered of theire men on borde the said prize in theire boates and were quietly possessed thereof amongst them as theire prize and had the pilladge on borde amongst them of this ex*amina*tes knowledge beinge m*aste*rs mate of the said shippe the Monelighte at the takinge of the said prize in company of the two other shipps aforesaid. Affirminge that the Conclude was the best sayler of all the said shipps and first mett with the said prize in the nighte as he thinkethe for that the company thereof first tould the Harry & Iohn of the said prize to be a heade of them. And he also saythe that the Monelighte beinge a sterne of the Conclude & Harry & Iohn in the nighte tyme as they pursued the said fleete, this ex*amina*te & other of the company sawe a lighte hanged furthe by one of the other shipps aheade But which of them yt was he knoweth not[1]/.

Ad vndecimum affirmat verum esse That the spaniardes were devided and putt into the said thre shippes and englishe men taken out of everye of the same shipps and putt into the prize to bringe her into Englande of this ex*amina*tes knowledge wherevnto the Captaines and m*aste*rs of every shippe aggreed and condiscended to his knowledge otherwise yt could not soe haue passed Affirminge that this ex*amina*te did never otherwise thinck but that the Conclude oughte to haue had parte of the said prize at her arrivall in Englande, and soe he thinkethe yt was mente by all the companyes of all the thre shippes when the spaniardes were devided amongst the shippes and english men of every shipp putt into the prize For that the shippe was taken by them all thre shipps togeather Addinge also that there was a cheste of suger almost full broughte on borde the Monelighte which this ex*amina*te sawe shared to that shipp & the

[1] Cp. pp. 627, 630, 636, 641, 643, 651–4, 684.

Conclude and the Harry & Iohn as he herde had the reste of that cheste and a whole cheste of suger for her selfe.[1] Ac plura nescit/.

Ad xii deponit Roberte Hallett was appoyncted master of the said prize to bringe her into England. But whether a generall consente of the thre shippes were had therevnto he knoweth not.

Ad xiij^{um} dicit that the prize beinge manned with men out of every of the said thre shippes the Harry & Iohn, the Conclude & the Monelighte stayed in company of those shipps aboute v [or vj][2] weekes before they departed for Englande. Duringe which tyme as well the Concludes company that were put into the prize as the reste were in ioyncte possession of the same prize without eany contraction that he herde of, But after the prize was gon from them towardes England he hath herde that Roberte Hallett vsed the Concludes company on borde very hardly and expelled them at the Islandes and would haue putt them ashore amongst theire enemmyes yf shipps had not byn presente to take them in.

Ad xiiij dicit the Spaniardes that were putt into the Monelighte whereof this examinate was a quarter master did affirme the said prize with her ladinge was worth xx thowsande poundes sterling.

Ad xv nescit deponere/.

Ad xvj et xvij nescit deponere/.

Ad xviij et xix^{um} et xx deponit se plura nescire/.

Ad vltimum dicit predeposita per eum esse vera &c.

(*d*) 27 October 1590. William Davell of Plimouthe, seaman, aged 28 years or thereabouts.

Ad primum et secundum articulos libelli in hac causa dati deponit et attestatur verum esse That aboute may laste the articulate shipp the Conclude was furnished & appoyncted to sea in warlicke manner with Reprisalls by Iames Bagge & others, and Ioseph Harris wente Captaine of her & Hugh Hardinge master Which he knoweth to

[1] The sugar, not being deck cargo, was not technically pillage, and so the distribution of two chests (about 12 'C', worth £19. 4*s*.; cp. p. 693 below) was an indication of a disposition to divide the cargo.

[2] Deleted. The dates were 3 July to 31 July (pp. 605–8 above).

be true For that this ex*amina*te was at Plimouth at the furnishinge & settinge furth of the said shipp & wente to sea in her company in the Monelighte & continued with her vntill they came to the Indies/.

Ad tertiu*m* deponit That the said two shippes the Conclude & the Monelighte goinge to sea togeather sayled to Cape Tabrowne in the Indies and there found the articulate shipp the Harry & Iohn & other shippes which were in consorte with the Monelighte belonginge to m*aste*r Watt*es* of London; of which shipp the Harry & Iohn Abraham Cocke was captaine & Rob*er*te Hutton m*aste*r which he knoweth to be true For that he this ex*amina*te was Steward in the said shipp the Monelighte the said viadge/.

Ad quartu*m* quintu*m* sextu*m* et septimu*m* affirmat veru*m* esse That after the said shippes the Conclude & Monelighte came to Cape Tabrowne and found there the Harry & Iohn, the Iohn Evangelist & Little Iohn and were makinge mery togeather, there came a Flete of xiij spaniard*es* in sighte which the Conclude & Monelighte [had] chased before nere S^{t} Domingo and driven into harbor[1] And vppon viewe of them all the said shipps of warre made toward*es* the Flete and the Conclude beinge a smale shippe and best of sayle gott a heade of all the reste of her company and seinge one of the spanishe shippes single her selfe from the flete and make to the Southward as the Conclud*es* company reported they pursued her the nighte co*m*minge on and aboute ix of the clocke in the nighte overtooke her, and bare with her, vntill aboute midnighte that the Harry & Iohn and the Monelighte happenninge to kepe that course which the Conclude & the Spaniarde kepte spake with the Conclude and were toulde by the company thereof that a greate Spanishe shippe was a heade of them, and soe they kepte with her likewise Which he knoweth to be true for that he was Steward of the Monelighte at that presente and ys of opinion that the Conclude loste not the sighte of the Spaniard aforesaide at all but bare with her all the eveninge and the nighte also vntill the morninge that she was taken And he ys induced to be of that

[1] Cp. p. 629.

opinion for that the Conclude was the best Sayler, and sayled out of sighte of the Monelighte wherein this ex*aminat*e served before the nighte came, and soe gott sighte of the Spaniarde aforesaid and kepte after her & with her as aforesaid.

Ad octavu*m* attestatur verissimu*m* esse That a lighte was shewed eyther by the Conclude or Spaniarde that nighte For this ex*aminat*e at the leaste thre howers before they knewe of the Spaniarde to be [a]heade did see the lighte and shewed the same to his Captaine & others on theire larde borde bowe one poyncte differente of theire course or thereaboutes, and at the same tyme the Harry & Iohn was harde by them in sighte soe as he knoweth assuredly yt was not eany lighte of hers, and seeinge the said lighte they did beare after the same and at laste spake with the Conclude beinge a heade & was tould by her of the said Spaniard as ys before deposed/.[1]

Ad nonu*m* decimu*m* et vndecimu*m* affirmat verissimum esse That after the Harry & Iohn and Monelighte came vppe with the Conclude and Spaniarde they kepte togeather vntill the morninge and aboute v or vj of the clocke in the morninge the Harry & Iohn wente vppe to the Spaniard & shott of two or thre muskettes[2] at them to see what they would doe, and then the Conclude beinge at hande putt on more saile and went vppe to the Spaniard and shott of two greate peeces ether Fawcons or fawconetes and as he thinketh some smale shott, and the Spaniardes shott as [*sic*] them muskettes as he remembrethe whiche beinge don the Conclude fallinge a sterne the Harry & Iohn & the Monelighte bare vppe roundly in fighte one at the brode side and the other at her quarter, And the Conclude came vppe at her sterne or larde borde quarter and shottes were made apace from every of those shippes at the spaniarde duringe an hower or two or thereaboutes;[3] and at length the Spaniard yealded to them all, And men owt of every shippe wente on borde her in theire boates and peacably entered and tooke

[1] He is very definite about the light, cp. pp. 627, 630, 633, 641, 643, 651–4, 684.

[2] It is admitted by Tayler that she fired the first shots (cp. p. 630).

[3] On the relative positions and actions of the vessels cp. pp. 660–2.

her makinge pilladge togeather of such thinges as they founde above the decke And havinge soe taken and subdued the said spanishe shippe the Captaines and masters of the said thre shipps the Harry & Iohn the Monelighte & the Conclude aggreed togeather to devide the Spaniardes into every of those shippes accordinge to theire burthens and to place men & victualls on borde the Spanishe prize out of every of the said thre shippes, and soe yt was accomplished accordingly, with a generall entente and meaninge as this examinate and all the residue of those shippes to his knowledge mente to bringe the said prize into Englande, and there to make devision of the same amongst them as to theire partes and portion did appertaine beinge all takers thereof, and partners therein to his knowledge as as [*sic*] he allwayes thoughte And as partners two chestes of sugers were taken out of the prize and one delivered to the Harry & Iohn, And the other shared betwixte the Monelighte & Conclude Which he affirmeth to be most true For that he was presente in the Monelighte at the takinge of the said prize, and sawe all soe done as he hath before deposed/.

Ad xij deponit verum esse That Roberte Hallett was by consente of the Captaines & masters of the said thre shipps appoincted master to bringe the said prize into Englande to the behofe of the shipps & theire companyes victualers and owners For this examinate was presente when he was soe appoincted master on borde the said prize/.[1]

Ad xiij^{um} dicit the prize beinge manned with men out of the Conclude & the other two shippes were quietly on borde whiles they sayled from Cape Tabrowne to the Cape of S^{t} Anthony & soe to the Cape of Florida and then shott the gulfe. Duringe which tyme the said thre shippes were still in company of the prize and thereby he knowethe that in all that tyme the Concludes company & the others were in quiett possession of the said prize without eany contradiction or dislike and then the prize tooke her course

[1] This is more direct testimony of the element of agreement in the choice of Hallett than that given on pp. 639–40.

for Englande & the other shippes for Virginia. What order was taken amongst them he knoweth not But that comminge to the Islandes they herde there that Hallett had expelled the Concludes companye.

Ad xiiij dicit the Spaniardes made reporte that the said prize was worth xx thowsande poundes and vpwardes.

Ad xv xvj et xvij nescit deponere.

Ad xviij xix et xx^um^ nescit deponere.

Ad vlt*imum* dicit predeposita per eum esse vera &c.

(*e*) 27 October 1590. John Bedford of Dartmuthe, Devon, seaman, 23 years of age or thereabouts.[1]

Ad primum et secundum articulos libelli in hac causa dati affirmat eisdem veros For this examinate beinge master of the Monelighte wente to sea in the company of the articulate shippe the Conclude whereof Ioseph Harris was Captaine & Hugh Hardinge master/.

Ad tertium quartum quintum sextum et septimum articulos dicit That the Monelighte & Conclude saylinge from Plimouth consorted them selves togeather vntill they should meete with the Harry & Iohn the Iohn Evangeliste & Little Iohn beinge consorted before with the Monelighte, and vppon such meetinge with theire said consortes, the consorteship made with the Conclude to be voide,[2] And soe they sayled togeather to Cape Taberowne and there they founde theire said consortes, And within thre houres after the comminge of the Conclude & Monelighte to Cape Taberowe to the said shippes a fleete of x or xj sayles came in sighte,[3] And all the said English shipps with all speede made towardes the said fleete and by the eveninge this examinate & his company in the Monelighte had loste the sighte of the fleete & the

[1] Bedford took over command of the *Moonlight* after Captain Spicer's death (p. 618 above) and brought her home.

[2] This sounds likely but is not confirmed. It does not cover the status of the *Conclude* during the taking of the *Buen Jesus*. Bedford's evidence that the *Moonlight* was consorted with Watts's ships is accepted by Hallett (cp. p. 683).

[3] There were fourteen in all (Wright, *Further English voyages*, p. 249).

Conclude also and aboute midnighte followinge this ex*amina*te & his company escried two sayles a heade of them and shortly after the Conclude beinge of those sayles stayed for them & tould them the other shipp was a greate Spaniarde[1] and soe both the Conclude the Monelighte & the Harry & Iohn beinge togeather kepte company with the said Spaniard vntill the morninge which he affirmeth of his owne knowledge to be true for that he was m*aste*r of the said shipp the Monelighte.

Ad octav*um* nescit deponere.

Ad nonu*m* deponit veru*m* esse that in the morninge the said shipps the Harry & Iohn, the Monelighte and the Conclude did all fighte with the said Spanishe shippe For this ex*amina*te sawe shott dischardged out of the Conclude at the said prize[2] and after an hower & haulfes fighte or thereaboutes, the said Spanishe shippe yealded, and Abraham Cocke Captaine of the Harry & Iohn the Admirall first entered with his men, nexte this ex*amina*te & his men entered, and then the Concludes people entered also,[3] And soe tooke the said spanishe shippe with her ladinge of this ex*aminates* knowledge beinge presente at the takinge thereof.

Ad decimu*m* dicit veru*m* esse that the Captaine & some of the company of the Conclude were on borde the said prize with the companyes of the other two shippes and soe continued vntill they came to the Isles of Surres as he helde.

Ad vndecimu*m* dicit veru*m* esse yt was concluded and aggreed by all the thre shippes cheiftenes[4] that the prize shuld be manned & victualed by all the said thre shippes, And some of the Spaniardes putt into every of the same thre shipps, and accordinge to that aggreemente the prize was soe manned & victualed, & the Spaniardes devided & kepte vntill they were landed.

Ad xij deponit m*aste*r Wattes did ordayne before the goinge furth of the shipps that Robe*r*te Hallett shoulde come m*aste*r to

[1] Cp. pp. 630, 635, 643, 683. [2] Cp. pp. 660–2.

[3] This order of entry is not specified elsewhere.

[4] I.e. Bedford being one of them, he is giving direct evidence on this point (cp. p. 655).

England of the first prize that should be taken, and soe vppon takinge of the said prize, the said Hallett was placed m*aste*r, & none of the thre shipps company disliked thereof to his knowledge.[1]

Ad xiij^{um} dicit he herde say that the Captaine of the Conclude & two more of his company that were putt into the prize were putt owt of the same prize by Rob*er*te Hallett & his company at the Island of Flowers.[2]

Ad xiiij^{um} dicit se nescire/.

Ad xv nescit deponere/.

Ad xvj et xvij nescit deponere/.

Ad xviij xix et xx nescit deponere/.

Ad vlt*imum* dicit predeposita p*er* eu*m* esse vera/.

(*f*) 29 October 1590. Henry Swanne of Newcastle, mariner, aged 36 years or thereabouts.

Ad primu*m* et secundu*m* articulos libelli in hac causa dati affirmat he knoweth that Ioseph Harris in may laste wente to sea Captaine of the articulate barcke the Conclude & Hugh Hardinge [master] with l*ett*res of Reprisall, beinge sett furth by m*aste*r Bagge & W*illia*m Finche as yt was reported Ac al*ias* nescit / For this ex*amina*te wente to sea in the Monelighte in companye of the said Conclude/.

Ad tertiu*m* quartu*m* quintu*m* sextu*m* et septimu*m* articulos attestatur verissimu*m* esse that the Conclude & Monelighte goyenge from Plimouth togeather sayled to Cape taberowne in the Indees, and there found the articulate shippe the Harry & Iohn with other of her consort*es*, and as they at theire first meetinge were makinge mery, a flete of Spaniard*es* of xj or xij sailes came in viewe wherevnto all the said shipps gave chase and the Conclude beinge beste of saile out wente the reste, and gott sighte of a spanishe shippe that forsooke the fleete and pursued the same all the eveninge & the nighte and never loste sighte thereof, as he

[1] Cp. pp. 666–7.
[2] Flores.

thinkethe vntill the same Spanishe shippe was taken And he geveth a reason thereof for that this ex*amina*te was a quarter m*aster* in the Monelighte at such tyme as the said flete came in sighte & sawe that the Conclude saylinge after the Flete wente out of sighte of all the shipps and was not seene eany more by this ex*amina*te or eany his company vntill in the nighte followinge that by chaunce they mett with the Conclude & the Spanishe shipp togeather/.

Ad octav*um* deponit that the Harry & Iohn & the Monelighte happened to kepe togeather & to fale into the same course that the Conclude & the Spaniard tooke and this ex*amina*te beinge in the Monelighte and a sterne of the other shipps did see a lighte shewed aboute midnighte But whether yt were in the Conclude or the Harry & Iohn he cannot declare But they followed after the same lighte and shortly after they sawe the Spaniarde and the Conclude togeather.[1]

Ad nonu*m* et decimu*m* dicit eusdem continere veritatem For this ex*amina*te was presente and sawe that the said Spanishe shipp beinge pursued by the Conclude the Harry & Iohn and Monelighte was by them in the morninge taken ioynctly togeather and by them aborded and entered and quietly possessed and enioyed.

Ad vndecimu*m* affirmat eundem continere veritatem For this ex*amina*te beinge p*rese*nte did see that after takinge of the said prize some of the Spaniard*es* were by order and aggreemente of all the thre shipps putt into the same thre shippes, and englishe men & victualls taken out of the same thre shippes & putt into the prize to bringe her into Englande Where, this ex*amina*te and all men else of the said thre shippes made noe other accompte that he knewe or herde but that the same prize should be shared in England amongst the said thre shippes the Harry & Iohn, the Monelighte & the Conclude & the companyes thereof, as in like sorte, some suger for provision was at sea taken out of the said prize and devided amongst the same shippes, viz Two Chest*es* of suger whereof the Harry & Iohn had one & the Monelighte & Conclude the other betwixte them Ac plura nescit/.

[1] Cp. pp. 627, 630, 633, 636, 643, 651–4, 684.

Ad xij dicit verum esse Roberte Hallett was by consente of the thre shippes companye placed master in the said spanishe prize to bringe her into Englande to his knowledge Ac alias nescit / quam prius per eum dictum est/.

Ad xiij dicit yt ys well knowen that after the Captaine of the Conclude & other of his company were placed in the prize with the reste appoyncted to bringe her into England & had continued a moneth or more in possession thereof, the said Hallett as yt ys generally reported forceably expelled them out of the said shippe, and commaunded his men to putt them on lande in the Islande of Flowers amongst theire ennimyes, and not to putt them into eany shippe that was there.

Ad xiiij^{um} dicit the Spaniardes made reporte the said prize was worth xx thowsande poundes and vppwardes and that the bills of ladinge founde in the shippe would avouch the same.[1]

Ad xv xvj xvij nescit deponere/.

Ad xviij xix et xx nescit plura dicere/.

Ad vltimum dicit predeposita per eum esse vera/.

(*g*) 29 October 1590. Hugh Hardinge of Plimuth, seaman, aged 26 years or thereabouts.[2]

Ad primum et secundum articulos libelli in hac causa dati vigore sui in iusiurandi affirmat eosdem continere veritatem For this examinate was master of the articulate shipp the Conclude the said viadge.[3]

Ad tertium quartum quintum sextum et septimum articulos dicti libelli attestatur verissimum esse That this examinate & companye in the Conclude wente From Plimouthe in company of the Monelighte & sayled togeather to Cape Taberoune in the Indies and

[1] The ship's manifest was captured (Wright, *Further English voyages*, p. 252), but it was not produced in evidence in the case since, in comparison with the appraisement (pp. 692–5 below), it would reveal the amount transhipped (cp. p. 689, 695, 708, 710) or embezzled by the crew.

[2] He is the only member of the *Conclude's* crew for whom a deposition is found. He admits knowing Middleton and Bagge for two years and Glanville for one.

[3] He here missed his opportunity of clarifying the terms under which the *Conclude* and *Moonlight* set out in consortship (cp. p. 582).

there found the Harry & Iohn, the Little Iohn & the Iohn Evangeliste and within fewe howers after theire meetinge, a Flete of Spaniardes were seene to the which this ex*aminat*e & all the reste of Shipps gave chase and before the eveninge this ex*aminat*es shippe beinge the best sayler had soe farre oversayled the other englishe shippes aforesaid beinge a sterne that this ex*aminat*e & companye could not see them, And shortly after all the flete savinge one shippe were cleane out of sighte, And that same shippe this ex*aminat*e & company followed (the other englishe shipps beinge still out of sighte) and never loste the sighte of that shippe but the space of an hower or two in the nighte[1] & then gettinge sighte of her agayne they bare with the said spanishe shippe & loste her noe more and because the other shippes of England beinge a sterne mighte followe him the better & knowe what course he kepte this ex*aminat*e caused a lanterne with a candle burninge to be sett on the topp of his maine maste and kepte the same aboute an hower there shadowed forwardes vntill they had almost fetched vppe the Spaniard, and then he caused the same to be taken downe when he was nere the Spaniardes because they should not discerne yt, and soe this ex*aminat*e & company came close vppe to the Spaniardes & haled them, and they answered agayne, and soe this ex*aminat*e fell a sterne of the Spaniarde agayne and sett vpp his lighte againe in the Toppe of his maste and kepte an easey saile to kepe company with the Spaniardes the nighte tyme[2] And sayth that in keepinge an easye saile the Harry & Iohn came vppe with this ex*aminat*e & haled him & asked what shippe that was a heade, And this ex*aminat*e answered yt was a spaniarde and that he had spoken with her,[3] and the Harry & Iohns company asked agayne yf they in the Conclude had seene the Frigottes that gave chase with them, and he answered he had loste sighte of them in chase[4] And this

[1] This is the most direct evidence on the claim that the *Conclude* found and followed the prize.

[2] Cp. pp. 635, 683.

[3] This is denied by Hallett (p. 683 below).

[4] The two small prizes taken by the *Harry and John*, etc., before 2 July (cp. pp. 601–4). They presumably followed Newport but their subsequent story is obscure (cp. pp. 589, 690). This is a useful circumstantial touch.

ex*amina*te demaunded of the company of the Harry & Iohn whether they had seene his lighte and some answered they sawe yt & others *prese*ntely answered also they sawe yt not/. Then came vppe the Monelighte & this ex*amina*te & company tould them there was a Spaniard a heade, And this ex*amina*te asked them yf they had seene his lighte and they made answere they sawe yt/[1] And soe both this ex*amina*te & the Harry & Iohn with the Monelighte kepte companye with the said Spanishe shippe all the nighte vntill the morninge of this ex*aminate*s certaine knowledge beinge *prese*nte and principall actor of all that which he hath before deposed to be don by the Conclude/.

Ad octavu*m* nonu*m* et decimu*m* attestatur verissimu*m* esse That in the morninge this ex*amina*te & company in the Conclude with the Harry & Iohn & the Monelighte did sett vppon the said spanishe shippe and all thre foughte with her,[2] and caused her to yealde and *prese*ntely vppon the yealdinge, Abraham Cocke with his boate entered the prize, and this ex*amina*te with his Captaine Ioseph Harrys and foure or fyve men of his company entered the prize and pillaged all togeather without eany deniall,[3] as *par*tners in the said prize of this ex*aminate*s knowledge beinge m*aste*r of the said shipp the Conclude at that presente.

Ad vndecimu*m* dicit eundem continere veritatem For this ex*amina*te beinge m*aste*r of the Conclude was presente at the said aggreemente and hearde that Abraham Cocke demaunded men of this ex*amina*te to man the prize accordinge to her tonnadge and willed this ex*amina*te to take Spaniard*e*s in to his shippe in like sorte, and to deliver victualls to the prize to bringe her home and soe this ex*amina*te both delivered men & victualls into the Spaniarde & receaved Spaniard*e*s on borde him accordinge to the said order as the other two shipps the Harry & Iohn & Monelighte did the

[1] Cp. pp. 627, 630, 633, 636, 641, 651–4 ,684.

[2] He misses the opportunity to give details of the *Conclude's* part in the fight (cp. pp. 660–2).

[3] This is the most specific and direct evidence that the *Conclude's* men took part in the pillaging (cp. pp. 627, 637, 663–4), and is denied (p. 685).

like. And both by reason thereof & of theire ioincte takinge of the said prize as well the Concludes companye as the others were in quiett possession of the said prize and soe continued two monethes & vij dayes of this ex*aminate*s certaine knowledge[1] For that he was at the Isle of Flowers when the Captaine & others of the Conclude that were putt on borde the prize were by force expelled out of the said prize by Rob*er*te Hallett & his companye/.

Ad duodecimu*m* affirmat veru*m* esse That Rob*er*te Hallett was appoyncted m*aste*r of the said prize by consente of the Captaines & m*aste*rs of all the said thre shippes to bringe her into Englande, with purpose and intente that vppon her arrivall an equall devision should be made of the said prize amongst all the said thre shipps & theire owners victuallers & companye,[2] And he ys of opinion, that when the prize was soe sente away for Englande there was noe other meaninge amongst eany of them For that as p*ar*tners in the said prize two Chest*e*s of sugers were shared one to the Harry & Iohn, & the other betwixte the Monelighte & Conclude ratably accordinge to theire burthens And besides the Monelight*e*s company had gotten the Anciente of silke of the Spaniard*e*s & Abraham Cocke beinge Captaine of the Admirall demaunded the same as his dewe, & had yt, & soe Edward Spicer Captaine of the Monelighte had the maine streamer, & Joseph Harris Captaine of the Conclude the Forestreamer[3] Vt dicit.

Ad xiij attestatur verissimu*m* esse that after Joseph Harris Captaine of the Conclude & two others of his company had continued in possession of the prize ioynctly with the reste putt on borde from co*m*minge from Cape Taberowne to Flowers in the Isles of Surres which was by the space of two monethes & vij dayes or there aboute*s* the said Rob*er*te Hallett & his companye co*m*maunded the

[1] This would mean that by, or about, 10 September the *Buen Jesus* had left the vicinity of Flores and the *Conclude* arrived. The *Harry and John* was off Corvo on 18 September (pp. 619–20 above).

[2] This evidence of a specific agreement to divide the prize is denied, p. 686 below.

[3] The division of the flags, if it is accepted, is some presumptive evidence of agreement to share the prize (cp. pp. 586, 627 above).

said Concludes company to be broughte a shore in the boate & there loste[1] to be spoyled of the ennimy, But bye earnest entreaty of Captaine Harris they were putt on borde the Dolphin of Plimouthe[2] that then by good happ rode there Vt dicit/.

Ad xiiij dicit the Spaniardes which this examinate had on borde did valewe the said prize to be worth twenty thowsand poundes.

Ad xv^{um} dicit the Conclude doth claime a seventh parte of the said prize as due to her which by that accompte doth come almost to thre thowsande poundes.[3]

Ad xvj et xvij deponit that vppon the arrivall of the prize in this River and landinge of the same, this examinate would haue kepte a note of the goodes, and master Wattes answered he would sett them over bord yf he kepte eany note there, denieinge eany parte of the same to him and his company, in presence of the said Hallett.[4]

Ad xviij dicit the Conclude had iiij monethes victualls in her when Hallett expelled Captaine Harris & his company at Flowers out of the said prize[5] and would haue continued at sea to spende that victualls hopinge for further purchase, had yt not byn they were forced to come home to complaine of the wronge offered by Hallett which was to the owners greate dammadge.[6]

Ad xix & xx refert se ad iuramentum et prius depositum/.

Ad vltimum dicit predeposita per eum esse vera &c.

[1] For 'lefte'.

[2] 80 tons, commanded in 1591 by Thomas Fleming (Andrews, 'Elizabethan prvateering', p. 309).

[3] This provides specific evidence of the claim made on behalf of the *Conclude*, the basis being a proportion of tonnage and men.

[4] This would indicate that the *Conclude* reached London very soon after the prize. The incident is not mentioned elsewhere, but was apparently the basis for the appeal to the privy council (cp. p. 623 above).

[5] This would give her victuals for eight months, when six was more usual.

[6] This involved an additional claim for damage sustained at the hands of Hallett and Watts.

96. CROSS-EXAMINATION ON BEHALF OF ROBERT HALLETT, IN THOMAS MIDDLETON, ETC. *v.* HALLETT[1]

'Interrogatories ministred on the behaulf of Roberte Hallet against all the prinsipal witnesses which are and shalbe produced against him on the parte and behaulf of Thomas Myddleton James Bagge, and Nicholas Glanvile, followethe/

1. Imprimis you shall signifye and declare to every wytnes produced in this behaulf how great and terrible an offence yt is vppon an Oathe (wherby god almighty is called for witnes of a truthe to be deposed) to delyver an vntruthe. *pro omnibus*

2. Item aske every witnes and lett him delyver by chardge of his Oathe, whether yf in case the Plaintiffes shall prevaile in this sute, the said witnes or any of his Contests shall Receive or hope to have benefitt therby? which of his fellowe witnesses stande in this Case? and what Commoditye or benefitt every of them hopethe to have yf the Cause in question shalbe adiudged for the plaintiffes? and lett him be asked Ioyntly severally and of each. *pro omnibus*

3. Item lett every witnes be asked, whether he or any other of his Companye have bene promised any Rewarde Recompence or benefitt to speake or depose for the behaulf of the plaintiffes in this Cause? What hath bene so promised? to whom and by whom? and lett him be asked as aforesaid.'/ *pro omnibus*

(*a*) 26 October 1590. Henry Millett of Poole, seaman, aged 24 years or, thereabouts.[2]

'Ad primum et secundum exposito sibi periculo periurij et pena testis falcidici respondet negatiue But contrary wise sayth that if the plaintiffes prevaile in this suite, this respondente shalbe dampnified

[1] The interrogatories are in P.R.O., H.C.A. 23/4, fos. 333–9, based on Hallett's allegation in response to the libel, P.R.O., H.C.A. 27/58, fo. 193, and the answers are those following the direct examination given in document no. 95, pp. 625–46 above, under date in P.R.O., H.C.A. 13/28. A few formal Latin phrases are omitted.

[2] Continuing pp. 625–8 above.

thereby, for soe much the lesse will come to his parte beinge one of the company of the Monelighte and to haue the portion of the whole yf the Conclude be excluded/.

Ad tertium respondet negatiue pro parte sua et quoad alios ignorat/.'

(*b*) 26 October 1590. John Tayler, of Hepitre, near Exeter, seaman, of the age of 25 years or thereabouts.[1]

'Ad primum et secundum expositi sibi periculi periurij respondet negatiue pro parte sua / more then that he looketh to haue his chardges for attendinge to be examined in the cause/.

Ad tertium respondet negatiue pro parte sua et quod alios ignorat/.'

(*c*) 27 October 1590. Thomas Harden of Newcastle, sailor.[2]

'Ad primum et secundum exposito sibi periculo periurij et pena testis falcidici respondet negatiue/.

Ad tertium respondet he was never promised eany reward bye James Bagge or eany other to depose in this cause nether doth he hope or loke for eany proffitt therebye/.'

(*d*) 27 October 1590. William Davell of Plymouth, seaman, of the age of 28 years or thereabouts.[3]

'Ad primum secundum et tertium exposito sibi periculo periurij &c respondet negatiue/.'

(*e*) 27 October 1590. John Bedford of Dartmouth, aged 23 years or thereabouts.[4]

'Ad primum secundum et tertium expositio sibi periculo periurij &c. respondet negatiue/.'

(*f*) 29 October 1590. Henry Swanne of Newcastle, seaman, aged 36 years or thereabouts.[5]

'Ad primum secundum et tertium respondet he well knoweth the daunger of an oathe and would not speake an vntruth vppon his

[1] Continuing pp. 629–31 above.
[2] Continuing pp. 632–4 above.
[3] Continuing pp. 634–8 above.
[4] Continuing pp. 638–40 above.
[5] Continuing pp. 640–2 above.

oath for all the world And by chardge of his oath he affirmeth the plaintiffes are all straungers vnto him, and never was promised by them or eany others eany thinge to depose in the cause nether doth he expecte or hope for eany commodity thereby for his parte And for others he cannot declare.'

(*g*) 29 October 1590. Hugh Hardinge of Plymouth, seaman, aged 26 years or thereabouts.[1]

'Ad primum et secundum respondet exposito sibi periculo periurij &c. that he hopeth not or loketh for eany other gaine yf the plaintiffes in this sute shall prevaile, But for his parte of the prize due vnto him beinge master of the Conclude at the takinge of the said prize And sayethe none of his fellowe witnesses heretofore sworne are in his case for that they were not of the Concludes company, or are to receave eany benefitt by theire testimony to his knowledge.

Ad tertium respondet nether he nor eany other his contestes[2] haue not byn promised eany thinge but theire chardges in waytinge to be examined in this cause to his knowledge.'

4. 'Item lett every witness be asked whether he were Captaine master or Marryner in the Pynnace Called the Conclude in the voyadge, where from she lately Retourned, and what Roome he had in the said voyadge. And lett him be asked as afore—.'/ *pro omnibus*

(*a*) Henry Millett. 'Ad quartum respondet negatiue/.'

(*b*) John Tayler. 'Ad quartum respondet he was not of the company of the Conclude, but served as gonner in the Monclighte the foresaid viadge/.'

(*c*) Thomas Harding. 'Ad quartum respondet negatiue/.'

(*d*) William Davell. Do.

(*e*) John Bedford. Do.

(*f*) Henry Swanne. 'Ad quartum respondet he was not of the company of the Conclude/.'

[1] Continuing pp. 642–6 above.

[2] Co-witnesses.

(*g*) Hugh Harding. 'Ad quartum *respondet* he was m*aster* of the Conclude.'

pro omnibus 5. 'Item Lett every witnes be asked yf he shall goe about to depose of any Consorte or agreement pretended to be made betweene the Companyes of the shippes called the Harry and Iohn, the Moone-light, and the Conclude, in what place on what day and monethe? by what words, manner and forme was the same made? And whoe were the persons that made the same agreement pretensed and lett him answeare precisely to every point of his Interroratorye. And lett him be asked as afore.'

pro omnibus 6. 'Item was the same pretensed Consorte or agreement made before the discrying of the Pryce in Controuersye or after? And howe long before or after? And lett him be asked as aforesaid.'

(*a*) Henry Millett. 'Ad quintum *respondet* he knoweth of noe consorte that was made betwixte the said shippes articulate Ad sextum *respondet quod* perdet ex negatis.'

(*b*) John Tayler. 'Ad quintum et sextum *respondet* he knoweth of noe consorte that was made betwixte the articulate shippes the Harry & Iohn the Monelighte and the Conclude.'

(*c*) Thomas Harden. 'Ad quintum et sextum *respondet* he knoweth of noe consorte that was made betwixte the articulate shippes But graunteth the Harry and Iohn, the Iohn Evangelist the Iohn & the Monelighte were consorted togeather before theire goyinge furth of Englande/.'

(*d*) William Davell. 'Ad quintum et sextum *respondet* there was a consorte made betwixte the Conclude & Monelighte at Plimouth to continewe vntill they mett with the Monelightes other consortet and then to be voide Ac al*iter respondet* negatiue/.'

(*e*) John Bedford. 'Ad quintum et sextum *respondet* there was noe such consorteshippe made betwixt the articulate shipps to his knowledge/.'

(*f*) Henry Swanne. 'Ad v et vj *respondet* he knoweth of noe such consorte or aggreemente as ys articulate to be made betwixte the Conclude & the other shipps named in theise articles/.'

(*g*) Hugh Harding. 'Ad quintu*m* et sextu*m* *respondet* there was noe consorteshipp made by the articulate shipps before the takinge of the prize/.'[1]

7. 'Item yf any wytnes be produced w*hi*ch was of the shippes called the Harry and Iohn, or the Moone Light lett him be asked, Whether of his Certaine knoledge, the Captaines or m*aste*rs of ether of the said shippes or any other whoe directed the Course of ether of the said shippes in following the price; before theire discryinge of the said pryce, after she lefte the Spainishe Fleete, did see any light to be putt forthe or hanged vpp in the Conclude? or whether any of the Companyes of those two shippes before they were neere the said Price did see any such light in the Conclude? And yf in case any such light had bene showed forthe in her, whether must not this deponent and the Rest of the Companies of the said Harry and John and Moonelight haue seene the same and would haue spoken therof? And lett him be asked as before/.' *pro nostris*

(*a*) Henry Millett. 'Ad septimu*m* *respondet* he this *respondente* beinge in the Monelighte sawe a light shown in the nighte tyme eyther by the Conclude or the Harry & Iohn as they were in chase of the prize nowe taken but which of those two ships hanged furth the lighte he knoweth not but sure he ys one of those shippes did showe the same For that there were no other shippes then in companye.'

(*b*) John Tayler. 'Ad septimu*m* *respondet* the ex*aminates* company sawe a lighte eyther showed by the Conclude or the Harry

[1] The answers bring together what is probably the true picture on this issue: (*a*) there was a consortship between the *Moonlight* and Watts's three ships; (*b*) there was a consortship between the *Moonlight* and *Conclude* which was apparently to last only until they met with Watts's ships; and (*c*) there was no consortship, written or verbal, between Watts's ships and the *Conclude*, if only because there had been no time to make one.

and Iohn on the nighte tyme before they found the prize which they followed & shortly after mett with the prize and kepte with her all nighte But which shipp did beare the lighte he knoweth not/.'

(*c*) Thomas Harden. 'Ad septimum *respondet* he sawe a lighte in one of the shippes the Conclude or the Harry and Iohn in the nighte tyme as they pursued the Fleete But whether [*sic*] shipp did beare the lighte he knoweth not/.'

(*d*) William Davell. 'Ad septimum *respondet* he sawe a lighte hanged out thre houres or thereaboutes before they sawe the Spaniarde that ys nowe taken or knewe of her And there was noe other shipps a heade of them but the Conclude & the Spaniarde at that *presente* & therefore he verely thinketh the Conclude did shewe the said lighte, [*crossed out*: for yt ys not like the Spaniard would shewe eany[1]]. Ac al*iter* nescit/. Savinge this *respondente* did speake of the said lighte when he sawe yt, and showed the same to the Captaine & other of the companye/.'

(*e*) John Bedford. 'Ad septimum *respondet* he sawe noe such lighte in the Conclude.'

(*f*) Henry Swanne. 'Ad vij *respondet* he sawe a lighte hanged furth in the nighte But whether yt were in the Conclude or Harry & Iohn he ys not assured But in his iudgement he would rather say yt was in the Conclude.'[2]

pro nostris 8. 'Item Lett every witnes w*hi*ch was of the said shippes Called the Harry & Iohn and the Moone light to aske whether was not

[1] The suggestion is made above (p. 636) that the light may have been on the *Buen Jesus*, though she would not have retained it once she knew she was being followed. The vice-admiral (Sp. *almirante*) customarily carried one light at night where it had been arranged that the flagship should carry two (B. de Mendoza, *Theorique and practice of warre* (1597), pp. 152–3).

[2] The total effect here is indecisive. Hallett's denial that the *Conclude* showed a light, and Harding's circumstantial story that she did, still stand in opposition, except that the presumption that some light was shown is strengthened. (Cp. pp. 643, 684.)

the Conclude at suche tyme as the Harry and Iohn first discryed the price taken to be a Spanishe vessell and not knowen or taken to be of England? Whether it is not true that the Conclude was noe meanes to directe or bringe the Harry and Iohn to the said pryce?/.'

(*a*) Henry Millet. 'Ad octavum respondet this respondente with the Mone lighte came in company of the Conclude out of Englande for as they knowe the same sufficientlye. But in the nighte tyme this respondente & his company sawe not the Conclude vntill they sawe her with the Spanishe prize beinge gotten vppe to the prize before the Monelighte whereof this respondente was a mariner came to her Ac aliter nescit Excepte yt were the Conclude that beare the lighte the nighte aforesaid which lighte this respondente & his company followed in the said chase.'

(*b*) John Tayler. 'Ad octavum respondet negatiue For the Conclude in the nighte tyme came Leeward with the Monelighte wherein this respondente was gonner & firste tould them of the said prize to be a heade of them.'

(*c*) Thomas Harden. 'Ad octavum respondet he herde yt reported by the company of the Harry & Iohn that they seeinge two shipps a heade of them in the nighte tyme did taken them both for Spaniardes vntill the Conclude beinge one of those two shipps spake with the Harry & Iohn & tould them the shipp a heade was a Spaniarde.'

(*d*) William Davell. 'Ad octavum respondet the Conclude was all the nighte a heade of the Harry & Iohn and Monelighte, and first tould the Harry & Iohns company as they reported of the said prize to be a heade.'

(*e*) John Bedford. 'Ad octavum respondet that the respondente & his company escried the Spaniard as sone as they sawe the Conclude beinge both not farre a sonder And therefore the Conclud was noe meanes to bring them to the Spaniarde Vt dicit.'

(*f*) Henry Swanne. 'Ad viij *respondet* that by the lighte this *respondente* wold knowe yt was an englishe shipp that was a heade, and the Conclude first tould both the Harry & Iohn and the Monelighte of the said prize.'[1]

pro nostris 9. 'Item Lett every witnes *which* was of the said shippes Called the Harry & Iohn and the Moone Light be asked, whether the Captains m*aster*s and Marryners of the said ship the Harye & I*ohn* did not first take, enter into, and goe on bord the price in Controuersye and had her in theire possessio*n* by some good space or tyme before the Conclude Came to them? or had any ma*n* entred into the said price? and lett him be asked as before/.'

(*a*) Henry Millett. 'Ad nonu*m* *respondet* the Harry & Iohns Skiffe wente first on borde the said prize when she yealded and ymmediatly both the company of the Conclude & the Monelighte came on borde in their skiffes and were all possessed of the said prize togeather, without eany contradiction althoughe the Harry & Iohns men entered on bord first as he remembreth.'

(*b*) John Tayler. 'Ad nonu*m* respondet the Harry & Iohns boate was first on borde the Spanishe prize and entered theire men first, and the Conclude and Moneshines [*sic*] company p*rese*ntely after entered on borde also with theire boat*es* & possessed the said prize without eany quarrell or dislike, and afterward*es* shared some suche as a prize taken amongst them ioyntlye/.'

(*c*) Thomas Harden. 'Ad nonu*m* *respondet* the Harry & Iohns boate were first on borde the said prize after she yealded and entered theire men before the Concludes companye did enter, for that as he thinketh they of the Conclude gave place to the better shippe to enter theire men first as the order of the sea ys For this ex*amina*te sawe the boat*es* of every shipps goe to the shipp side

[1] Tayler, Harden and Davell strengthen Hugh Harding's assertion (p. 643 above) that the *Conclude* informed both the *Moonlight* and the *Harry and John* of the prize's identity, though Bedford's stonewalling tactics (in the interest of the *Moonlight*) tend to reinforce the defendant's contention.

almost at one instante but when the men entered he knoweth not certenly.'

(*d*) William Davell. 'Ad nonum *respondet* the Harry & Iohn did first enter on borde the prize for that she was admirall But he sayth the Concludes company came *presently* after on borde, and mighte haue byn first on borde, yf yt had byn to offer discurtesy to the Admirall in such case as the order of the sea taketh yt as he thinketh.'

(*e*) John Bedford. 'Ad nonum respondet verum esse that the Harry & Iohn and Monelightes companye first aborded & entered the said prize, and were possessed thereof before the company of the Conclude did enter eany man For this respondente beinge of the Monelighte after the Harry & Iohns company entered, did goe on borde him selfe & was there before eany of the said shipp the Conclude did enter/.'

(*f*) Henry Swanne. 'Ad nonum *respondet* the prize was taken by all the thre shippes, and as he thinkethe the Concludes companye were as sone on borde of the prize as eany others of the other shippes were.'[1]

10. 'Item Lett every witnes which was of the said shippes Called the Harry and Iohn and the Moonelight be asked how longe the said two shippes called the Harrye, & Iohn and the Spanishe shippe which is nowe the pryce in Controuersye, were in fight togeather, and how many of the men of the said Spanishe shippe were there slayne by the Companyes of the said Harry & Iohn, before the said Spanishe Shippe yelded? And lett him be asked as before.' *pro nostris*

(*a*) Henry Millett. 'Ad decimum *respondet* that they foughte with the said spanishe prize an howers space or more before the prize yealded in which fighte some of the Spaniardes were slayne

[1] The conclusion would appear to be that the sequence *Harry and John*, *Moonlight* and *Conclude* was maintained, but that there was no significant delay before the first boat was followed by those from the other vessels (cp. pp. 639, 644).

But whether by the Harry & Iohn or the other two shipps he knoweth not.'

(*b*) John Tayler. 'Ad decimum *respondet* they were in fighte with the Spaniard which ys nowe taken an howers space or more before the Spaniardes yealded: But howe many spaniardes were slayne in the fighte he knoweth not/.'

(*c*) Thomas Harden. 'Ad decimum *respondet* the Harry & Iohn and the other two shippes foughte two houres or better with the prize before she yealded But howe many spaniardes were slayne he knoweth not.'

(*d*) William Davell. 'Ad decimum *respondet* All the thre shipps foughte with the said prize the space of an hower or more, and foure or fyve spaniardes as he thinketh were slayne & hurte in that fighte.'

(*e*) John Bedford. 'Ad decimum respondet they were in fighte togeather one or two howers before the prize yealded, and foure or fyve spaniardes were slayne in the fighte. But by which shipps they were slayne he knowethe not/.'

(*f*) Henry Swanne. 'Ad decimum *respondet* they foughte with the prize aboute two howers space But howe many of the Spaniardes were slayne he knowethe not For that he came not on borde the Spanish shippe when she was first taken.'[1]

pro nostris 11. 'Item Lett every witnes produced and to be produced in this Cause be asked of what Burden was the Conclude? How many men were in her? And how many peeces of ordinaunce, and of what sorts, at the tyme of the fight betweene the said Spanishe [shippe], and the said Harry and Iohn? And lett him be asked as before/.'

[1] The time estimate ranges on the English side from a half hour to two hours and to four hours (face-saving?) on the Spaniards' (cp. p. 586). Only Davell was astute enough to see that the question provided an opportunity to deny that all the fighting was done by the *Harry and John*. Tactically, the defence had the advantage of the other witnesses in keeping this issue in the background.

(*a*) Henry Millett. 'Ad vndecimum *respondet* he taketh the Conclude to be of the burthen of about xxv tonnes, & that she was manned with about xx men.'

(*b*) John Tayler. 'Ad vndecimum *respondet* he taketh the Conclude ys of xxv tonnes burthen or thereaboutes and that she had xx men or thereaboutes in her, with two fawcons and two bases as he thinketh at the tyme of the said fighte.'

(*c*) Thomas Harden. 'Ad vndecimum *respondet* the Conclude had in her xix or xx men and certaine Fawcons howe many he knoweth not, and iudgeth she ys of xxv or xxx tonnes burthen.'

(*d*) William Davell. 'Ad vndecimum *respondet* the Conclude ys of xx tonnes and vpwardes and had in her xx men & boyes in her. And thre or foure peeces of ordenaunce as he thinketh at the tyme of the said fighte.'

(*e*) John Bedford. 'Ad vndecimum *respondet* the Conclude was of aboute xxx tonnes burthen, and had xx men & thre or fower peeces of ordenaunce as he belevethe at the tyme of the said fighte/.'

(*f*) Henry Swanne. 'Ad xj *respondet* the Conclude was of xxx tonnes in his iudgemente and had xx men and two or thre peeces of ordenaunce as he thinkethe at the tyme of the fighte.'

(*g*) Hugh Harding. 'Ad vndecimum *respondet* the Conclude had xviij men & a boy and two Fawcons two double bases fyve or six harquebusshes a crocke[1] & aboute x muskettes & calivers at the tyme of the said fighte with the Spaniardes And ys of the burthen of xxx tonnes and vppwardes & soe allowed.'[2]

12. 'Item lett every witnes producted and to be produced in this Cause be asked of what burden was the said Spanishe shippe, of *pro omnibus*

[1] French *Harquebuses à croc:* arquebuses of somewhat large calibre suspended from their rests by hooks (*croc*, crook) fastened to the barrels.

[2] The answers establish that the *Conclude* was of some 30 tons (not 50, as on p. 626 above), carried twenty men, and had four of the smaller culverin type cannon—falcons and double bases—which was usual for a vessel of this size (cp. Andrews, 'Elizabethan privateering', p. 68), and gave her a fair degree of fighting-power. The provision of small arms appears generous, but not improbable.

what streingth and force was she? And how many men and what Ordynaunce was in her when the fight first beganne betweene her and the Harry and Iohn? And lett him be asked as before/.'

(*a*) Henry Millett. 'Ad duodecimum respondet the Spaniardes reported the said prize was of the burthen of thre hundreth tonnes, and he thinketh had xl men or more, nyne peeces of ordenaunce and smale shott.'

(*b*) John Tayler. 'Ad duodecimum respondet the Spanishe prize is of the burthen of iijC L tonnes or thereaboutes and had thre portingall bases & v peeces of Iron and nere aboute fifty men in her at the tyme of her takinge.'

(*c*) Thomas Harden. 'Ad duodecimum respondet the Spanish shippe was sayde by the Spaniardes to be of the burthen of iijC L tonnes and had betwixte iiij^{xx} & one C men in her as he thinkethe at such tyme as she was taken.'

(*d*) William Davell. 'Ad xij respondet the Spanishe shippe ys of the burthen of CCCLx tonnes by reporte of the Spaniardes and had vij or viij peeces of ordenaunce & Lx or Lxxx men to his iudgement.'

(*e*) John Bedford. 'Ad duodecimum respondet the Spanishe prize ys in his iudgemente of the burthen of iiijC tonnes, and had viij peeces of ordenaunce & abowte L or Lx men and was of good strength at the said fighte.'

(*f*) Henry Swanne. 'Ad xij respondet the spanish shippe ys of the burthen of iijC Lx tonnes or thereaboutes and a stronge shippe, and was manned with Lxxx men as he thinkethe, and has ix caste peeces when she was taken.'

(*g*) Hugh Harding. 'Ad xij respondet the Spanishe shippe is of the burthen of CCCL tonnes, and had x caste peeces & Lx men as he thinketh at the tyme of the said fighte.'[1]

[1] The captain of the *Buen Jesus*, Manuel Fernández Correa. stated her tonnage to be, by Spanish reckoning, 350, her guns (iron and brass cast pieces) 9, with

13. 'Item lett every witnes which was of the said shippes Called the Harry and Iohn and the Moone light be asked whether the said Spanishe shippe were not of suche streingthe before the foresaid fight that she cared not nether was afraide for the Conclude, nor stoode in any daunger or feare to be vanquished or annoyed by her? [And] lett him be asked as before./ *pro nostris*

(*a*) Henry Millett. 'Ad xiij^{um} *respondet* that the spanishe shippe in his iudgement was of suche strength that she stoode not in eany feare of the Conclude alone nether cared for her if the other two shippes had not byn nere and assaulted her likewise.'

(*b*) John Tayler. 'Ad xiij *respondet* he thinkethe the Spanishe shippe nowe taken in his iudgemente had little feare of the Conclude beinge a smale shippe, and the other of greate burthen & strength. But what the Conclude mighte haue don vppon her notwithstandinge he cannot iudge.'

(*c*) Thomas Harden. 'Ad xiij *respondet* he ys of opinion that the Spanishe shippe beinge of greate burthen & strength was not afraide of the Conclude.'

(*d*) William Davell. 'Ad xiij *respondet* et credit the Spanishe shippe nowe taken stoode in little feare to be taken by the Conclude alone For that she was a tall and stronge shipp, & the other a smale shippe/.'

(*e*) John Bedford. 'Ad decimu*m* tertiu*m* *respondet* the spanish shipp aforesaid was of such strength that she feared little the Conclude, and was not in eany daunger to be taken by the Conclude alone in his iudgemente.'

(*f*) Harry Swanne. 'Ad xiij *respondet* he ys of opinion the spanishe shipp feared not to be taken by the Conclude alone.'[1]

30 muskets, and her passengers and crew 35, all confirmed except the last (placed at 68) by her constable, Antonio de la Mata (Wright, *Further English voyages*, pp. 252–3).

[1] These answers merely stress the obvious, that the *Conclude* wisely depended on her associates to take the principal part in the attack. Had she been alone,

pro nostris 14. 'Item lett every wytnes which was of the said shippes called the Harry and Iohn or the Moonelight be asked whether the said Spanishe Shippe were not onely fought withall, and beaten, and her men killed by the said shippes Called the Harry and Iohn and the Moonelight, and whether did not the said Spanishe shippe yeald onely to the Harye & Iohn and not to the Conclude? And lett him be asked as before/.

(*a*) Henry Millett. 'Ad xiiij *respondet* the Harry & Iohn, the Monelighte & the Conclude all foughte with the said spanishe shippe But whether she yealded to eany one or to them all thre he knoweth not.'

(*b*) John Tayler. 'Ad xiiij^{um} *respondet* the Spanishe shipp was foughte withall by all the thre shippes, and he thinketh she yealded to them all beinge all aboute her & in fighte with her And otherwise he cannot declare that she yealded to eany one of them/.'

(*c*) Thomas Harden. 'Ad xiiij^{um} *respondet* the spanishe shippe was foughte with by all the said thre shippes, and vppon fighte made & shott geven by every of the shippes the Spanish shippe yealded to them all, & not to eanye one of them as he thinketh.'

(*d*) William Davell. 'Ad xiiij *respondet* the Harry & Iohn, the Monelighte & the Conclude did all thre foughte with the spanish shippe & endevored what they could togeather to take the same vntill she yealded For this *respondente* sawe smale & greate shott made by the Conclude vppon the Spaniardes/.'

(*e*) John Bedford. 'Ad decimu*m* quartum *respondet* the said spanish shippe was foughte withall by all the thre shipps aforesaid, and yealded to them all as he taketh yt/.'

(*f*) Henry Swanne. 'Ad xiiij *respondet* the spanishe shippe was shott at and foughte withall by all the thre shippes, and she yealded

however, the possibility of her risking an attack would have been greater (cp. the valiant fight of Captain Nicholas Lisle of the *Content* (owned by Sir George Carey) in 1591 (Hakluyt, *Principal navigations*, x, 178–83)).

to them all beinge all togeather & in fighte with her And otherwise he cannot saye/.'[1]

15. 'Item lett every wytnes which was of the said shippes called the Harry and Iohn or the Moonelight be asked whether they in the Conclude lay not to the lee ward of the said Spanishe Shippe at and during the tyme of the fight aforesaid and were soe farre from her, that they made noe fight with her nether did troble or hurte any parte of her before she yelded or was beaten and Subdued as is aforesaide and lett him be asked as before.' *pro nostris*

(*a*) Henry Millett. 'Ad xv respondet that the Conclude was most to Leeward of the thre shipps at the tyme of the fighte, notwithstandinge the Conclude fought with the prize and shott at her But what harme shee did to the prize he knoweth not.'

(*b*) John Tayler. 'Ad xv^um^ respondet the Conclude was within muskett shott of the Spanishe shippe at the tyme of the fighte and shott at the spanishe shippe as the other shipps did, But what harme the Conclude did her he cannot declare.'

(*c*) Thomas Harden. 'Ad xv^um^ respondet the Conclude was asterne somewhat on the Lee quarter of the Spaniard when she was taken, and foughte with her dischardginge shott both smale and greate at the prize But what harme was don therewith vppon the Spaniard he knoweth not/.'

(*d*) William Davell. 'Ad xv^um^ respondet the Conclude was within muskettes shott of the Spanishe shippe in the sighte of this respondentes sighte [*sic*] whereby he thinketh the Conclude trowbled the Spaniardes but what harme they did that he knoweth not/.'

[1] These answers appear reliable though they are not perhaps specific enough. Spanish members of the *Buen Jesus*' crew, examined at Havana (Wright, *Further English voyages*, pp. 250, 253), agreed that all three vessels took part in the attack and that Cocke led the party which accepted her surrender, but the two who appeared for Watts (pp. 695–8 below) maintain that the *Hopewell* alone was responsible.

(*e*) John Bedford. 'Ad xv *respondet* the Conclude was haulf caliver shott from the prize, a little to the Lee warde at the tyme of the fighte.'

(*f*) Henry Swanne. 'Ad xv *respondet* the Conclude was a little a sterne of the prize in the fighte, but verey nere her within muskett shott.'[1]

pro omnibus 16. 'Item Lett every witnes be asked what number of men and what Store of Ordinaunce was in ether of the said shippes Called the Harry and Iohn and the Moonelight, and whether of themselves the said shippe[s] and theire Companies as they were appointed were not of habilitye and streingthe to haue take*n* the said Spanishe shippe or a Stronger the*n* she? without the helpe of the Conclude / and lett him be aske[d] as before.'

(*a*) Henry Millett. 'Ad xvj *respondet* that the Harry & Iohn ys of the burthen of vij or viij score, & the Monelighte of forescore tonnes or thereaboute*s* and were both well furnished & manned & of sufficiente strength to haue taken the said prize withowt the healpe of the Conclude as he beleveth.'

(*b*) John Tayler. 'Ad xvj *respondet* the Moonelighte had xl men in her & one sacre two minions & two falcons, and the Harry & Iohn in his iudgemente had xl or L men & good store of ordenaunce, and were such shipps of strengthe & habilitye that they mighte haue taken the said spanishe shippe withowt the aide & helpe of the Conclude in his iudgemente/.'

(*c*) Thomas Harden. 'Ad xvj *respondet* the Monelighte had vij caste peeces besides muskette*s* & calivers, and the Harry & Iohn had xxiiij caste peeces as he herde and were of sufficiente strengthe to haue taken that prize or a stronger without further healpe as he beleveth.'

[1] Again this agrees with the evidence given at Havana (Wright, *Further English voyages*, p. 253), but not with that of the Spaniards who appeared for Watts (pp. 697–8 below).

(*d*) William Davell. 'Ad xvj *respondet* he thinketh the Harry & Iohn had aboute xvj peeces & Lx men & odde and the Monelighte had xl men & boyes and vij greate peeces of ordenaunce; and were stronge enoughe to haue taken the said prize or a stronger without the healpe of the Conclude as he thinketh/.'

(*e*) John Bedford. 'Ad xvj *respondet* the Monelighte was furnished with vij Caste peeces and xl men & boyes and the Harry & Iohn with xvj or xvj [*sic*] peeces as he thinketh and aboute fifty men at the tyme of the said fighte.'

(*f*) Henry Swanne. 'Ad xvj *respondet* the Harry & Iohn was furnished with xx or xxij caste peeces, and Lxxx men or thereaboutes, and the Monelighte with vij peeces and forty men, and were stronge enoughe to haue taken the said prize or a stronger without the healpe of the Conclude/.'

(*g*) Hugh Harding. 'Ad xvj *respondet* the Monelighte had xl men and vj or vij caste peeces, & the Harry & Iohn Lxx men besides good ordenaunce & well provided, and thinketh they were stronge enough of them selves to haue taken the said Spanishe shippe; And yt mighte haue byn the Conclude of her selfe although she were farre inferior to the other shippes, mighte haue taken the said prize yf the other shippes had byn absente and thereof they would haue made triall.'[1]

17. 'Item lett every witnes *which* was of the nu*m*ber of the*m* that were in the foresaid shippes Called the Harry & Iohn and the Moonelighte be asked howe many of the me*n* of the Conclude entred the price? howe longe after she had yelded? and whether whe*n* they were there had they any gover*n*me*n*t disposici*on* or Rule of the said pryce or the goode*s* in her? And lett him be demaunded as before/' *pro nostris*

(*a*) Henry Millett. 'Ad xvij *respondet* he knoweth not howe many of the Conclude*s* company wente on bord the prize when

[1] Harding's is a reasonable answer. Variations in the figures indicate the degree of reliability in matters of fact found in such depositions.

she yealded But sayth they wente *presen*tely on borde soe sone as the shipp yealded & they could gett on borde and were suffered both to haue pilladge & afterwardes to putt some of theire company into the prize to bringe her into Englande.'

(*b*) John Tayler. 'Ad xvij *resp*ondet the Conclude entered six or vj [*sic*] men on borde the prize *presen*tely after she yealded soe sone as they could gett on borde and had pilladge as others had But what other rule they caried there he knoweth not/.'

(*c*) Thomas Harden. 'Ad xvij *resp*ondet he sawe the Concludes men goe on borde in theire boate *presen*tely after the prize yealded But howe many men there were of them he knoweth not / Ac al*iter* nescit because he was not on borde the prize when she was taken & entered but stayed in the man of warre/.'

(*d*) William Davell. 'Ad xvij *resp*ondet there entered v or vj of the Concludes men first on borde the prize, and then the boate wente agayne for soe many more For this *resp*ondente sawe the boate goe twice on borde with men from the Conclude *presen*tely after the Spaniardes yealded and weare in accompte aborde as other men were.'

(*e*) John Bedford. 'Ad xvij^{um} *resp*ondet some foure or fyve of the Concludes men entered the prize *presen*tely after she yealded, and pilladged soe farre furthe as the others did But for rule or governemente therin he knoweth of none they had/.'

(*f*) Henry Swanne. 'Ad xvij *resp*ondet the Concludes men entered the prize *presen*tely after she yealded with as muche speede as they could come vpp with theire boate / But howe many men entered out of the Conclude, and what rule they had in the prize he cannot declare/.'[1]

[1] These are fair enough replies, but they do not wholly bridge the gap between Harding's statement that the *Conclude* participated fully in the acceptance of the prize's surrender (p. 644 above), and the denials by Hallett and the Spaniards appearing for Watts (pp. 684–6, 698–9 below).

18. 'Item lett every wytnes w*hi*ch was of the said shippes Called the Harry and Iohn and the Moonelight be asked whether after the takinge of the said pryce, the Captaines m*aste*rs and Marryners of those ij Englishe shippes or some of the*m* onely had not the Co*n*tynuall Rule, government disposici*on* and possessi*on* of the said pryce and and the goodes therin tyll her Com*m*ing to England? And lett him be asked as afore.' *pro nostris*

(*a*) Henry Millett. 'Ad decimu*m* octavu*m* re*spo*ndet that some of the Concludes company were putt into the said shipp or prize taken to bring her into Englande as some of the other two shipps were notwithstandinge the chiefe governemente was in the Harry & Iohn and Monelightes company as he beleveth/.'

(*b*) John Tayler. 'Ad xviij re*spo*ndet the Concludes men were putt into the prize amongst the reste of the company to healpe to bringe her into England, and therefore the company of the Harry and Iohn & the Monelighte could haue haue [*sic*] the only rule and possession of the said prize for that they were all possessors thereof togeather in his iudgemente.'

(*c*) Thomas Harden. 'Ad xviij re*spo*ndet some of the Concludes [men] were placed in the prize with the reste of the other shippes to bringe her into England & were on borde soe long as the Monelighte was in theire company. Who had the rule & governemente he knoweth not more then that Hallett was appoyncted m*aste*r howe he displaced eany of them afterwardes he knoweth not but by hearesaye.'

(*d*) William Davell. 'Ad xviij re*spo*ndet that Ioseph Harris Captaine of the Conclude with thre or foure of his companye were putt on borde the prize and there continued vntill they were expelled by Hallett, And he thinketh that the said Harris was companion with Hallett on borde the prize, and the reste were as com*m*on mariners, and the cheife officers were placed on borde out of the Harry & Iohn to his remembraunce.'

(*e*) John Bedford. 'Ad xviij respondet that both Captaine & master out of the Harry & Iohn were putt on borde the prize, and therefore he thinketh they had the rule & governemente of the prize vntill she came into Englande/.'

(*f*) Henry Swanne. 'Ad xviij respondet he taketh yt the Harry & Iohns company were Cheife officers in the prize & had the rule of bringinge her home.'[1]

pro nostris 19. 'Item lett every wytnes which was in the two shippes called the Harry and Iohn or the Marinlight [*sic*] be asked, whether Roberte Hallett were not placed master of the price by the Choise and appointment onely of the Companies of the said ij shippes the Harry and Iohn and the Moonelight without any order of them of the Conclude? And whether he Remayned not in possession therof till she Came to England, and lett him be asked as before/'

(*a*) Henry Millett. 'Ad decimum nonum respondet Master Wattes had appoyncted before the shipps wente furth that Roberte Hallett should come home master of the first prize that should be taken as yt was reported, And therevppon he the said Hallett was placed master in the said prize to bringe her into England: Wherevnto the Concludes company aggreed as he thinketh and to that ende some of her men were putt into the said prize as ys before answered.'

(*b*) John Tayler. 'Ad xix respondet Roberte Hallett was appoyncted master of the first prize that should be taken before [*sic*] the beginninge of the viadge, and by that meanes he was putt master into the said prize But whether yt were with or without the order of the Concludes Captaine master & company he cannot declare.'

[1] Unable to deny the presence of men from the *Conclude* on board, Hallett (pp. 685–6 below) falls back on the weak contention that they were merely passengers. The precise position which Captain Joseph Harris occupied in the prize is not made clear. The information that the master of the prize-crew was also from the *Hopewell* is not given elsewhere (cp. p. 668 below).

(*c*) Thomas Harden. 'Ad xix^um^ respondet Roberte Hallett was appoincted master to bringe the said shippe into Englande, But whether all the thre shipps company or howe many thereof consented therevnto he knoweth not.'

(*d*) William Davell. 'Ad xix^um^ respondet he thinketh Roberte Hallett was appoynted master of the prize as well by the consente of the Concludes company as the reste.'

(*e*) John Bedford. 'Ad xix^um^ respondet master Wattes had appoynted Hallett master of the first prize that should be taken and therevppon every man condiscended therevnto when the prize was taken, and he knoweth not of eany consente or order of the Concludes company to be required therein/.'

(*f*) Henry Swanne. 'Ad xix^um^ respondet he thinketh Hallett was appoyncted master of the prize as well by the company of the Conclude as the other shipps.'[1]

20. 'Item lett every witnes be asked whether they of the Conclude which were any tyme in the price were there in any office or did beare any place of Creditt there or were otherwise then the Commons persons or Marryners, and without Rule or goverment or disposicion of the said pryce and the goodes therin? And lett him be asked as before:/.'. *pro omnibus*

(*a*) Henry Millett. 'Ad vicesimum respondet he knoweth not that they of the Concludes company put on bord the prize did beare eany office or rule therein.'

(*b*) John Tayler. 'Ad xx^um^ one of the Concludes company was appoincted Steward of the prize.'

[1] The evidence here is again less precise than that of Harding on the one side (p. 645 above) or of Hallett on the other (p. 685 below). It is not irrelevant, however, that Hallett was adequately qualified, having been captain of the *Exchange* not long before (2 May 1589, H.C.A. 14/27, fo. 138 (note on last page)). If this was the *Exchange* of Bristol (Hakluyt, *Principal navigations*, x, 193) she was a vessel of 140 tons.

(*c*) Thomas Harden. 'Ad xx^{um} *resp*ondet the Captaine of the Conclude was with others of his company putt into the said prize But what office or rule eany of them did beare therein he knoweth not, nor howe they were esteemed/.'

(*d*) William Davell. 'Ad xx *resp*onsum est supra.'

(*e*) John Bedford. 'Ad xx *resp*ondet the Concludes men had noe rule or governemente in the prize that this *resp*ondente knoweth of/.'

(*f*) Henry Swanne. 'Ad xx^{um} *resp*ondet yt ys more then he can tell.'

(*g*) Hugh Harding. 'Ad xx *resp*ondet one of the Concludes companye called Naylor placed in the prize was made Stewarde of the prize, and Iosephe Harris the Captaine of the Conclude was Companion with the Captaine & m*aster* of the prize.'[1]

pro *omnibus* 21. 'Item lett every witnes be asked how many m*en* of the Companyes of the Harry and Iohn and the Moonelight we[re] putt on borde the pryce and came home in her to England? And lett him be asked as before.'

(*a*) Henry Millett. 'Ad vicesimu*m* primu*m* *resp*ondet there were ten of the Monelightes company putt on borde the prize to healpe to bringe her into England howe many the Harry & Iohn putt in he knoweth not.'

(*b*) John Taylor. 'Ad xxj *resp*ondet the Monelighte putt ix or ten men & the Harry & Iohn xx men into the said prize as he remembrethe which remayned on borde vntill the shipp arrived in England to his knowledge.'

(*c*) Thomas Harden. 'Ad xxj *resp*ondet he thinketh xx of the Harry and Iohns Company & ten of the Monelightes companye were putt into the said prize & came in her to England.'

[1] Harding's evidence is ambiguous. John Bedford (p. 666 above) said the master was taken from the *Hopewell*.

(*d*) William Davell. 'Ad xxj *respondet* aboute xxx *persons* of the company of the Harry & Iohn & Monelighte were putt into the prize to bringe her home.'

(*e*) John Bedford. 'Ad xxj *respondet* some xxx men out of the Harty & Iohn & Monelighte came home in the prize as he thinkethe/.'

(*f*) Henry Swanne. 'Ad xxj *respondet* x men out of the Monelighte and xx out of the Harry & Iohn were putt into the prize to bringe her home.'

(*g*) Hugh Harding. 'Ad xxj *respondet* there were nere xxvij men putt into the prize out of the Harry & Iohn & Monelighte to bringe her into Englande howe many came in her hither he knoweth not/.'

22. 'Item lett every witnes w*hi*ch was of the Harrye and Iohn and the Moonelight be asked, whether before the going forthe of the *said* shippes fro*m* England on ther voyadge wheron they are nowe Retorned the Owners, victuallers Captaines m*aster*s and Companyes of the *said* ij shippes, and the other two shippes called the Iohn and the Iohn Evangeliste were not Consorted togeather, and did goe forthe as Co*n*sorte*s*, and soe to be and Contynewe till theire Retournes, with order not to make Consorte with any other shipp or Companye the*n* the owners had done before the sending forthe of the *said* iiij^{or} shippes called the Harry and Iohn, the Moonelight, the Iohn and the Iohn Evangeliste, And lett him be asked as before/.' *pro nostris*

(*a*) Henry Millett. 'Ad vicesimu*m* secundu*m* *respondet* he herde articles reade at sea wherein yt appeared that the Harry & Iohn the Iohn, the Iohn Evangeliste and the Moonelighte were consorted togeather and bonde*s* geven by the owners Captaines & m*aster*s to p*er*forme the same.'

(*b*) John Tayler. 'Ad xxij *respondet* the articulate foure shippes were consorted togeather before theire goynge out of England as

this ex*amina*te was tould both by the Captaine and herde yt of sondry others.'

(*c*) Thomas Harden. 'Ad xxij *respo*ndet the articulate foure shipps were consorted togeather before theire goinge furth on the said viadge of his certaine knowledge as the Captaine and company affirmed, and as yt was notoriously knowen.'

(*d*) William Davell. 'Ad xxij *respo*ndet affirmatiue/.'

(*e*) John Bedford. 'Ad xxij putetur veru*m* esse that the articulate foure shippes before the goyinge to sea were consorted togeather.'

(*f*) Henry Swanne. 'Ad xxij *respo*ndet veru*m* esse the articulate shipps were in consorte by aggreemente of the owners & company as he herde/.'[1]

pro nostris 23. 'Item lett every witnes of the foresaid Harry and Iohn and the Moonelight be asked how longe the Conclude was in Company with the *said* ij shippes before they *par*ted last before the taking of the pryce and whether they did not Come and mett togeather by Chaunce?'

(*a*) Henry Millett. 'Ad vecesimu*m* tertiu*m* *respo*ndet that the Monelighte & the Conclude wente in company from Plimouthe, and com*m*inge togeather to Cape Toberowne[2] in the Indies there by chaunce they mett with the Harry & Iohn the nighte before the said prize was taken.'

(*b*) John Tayler. 'Ad xxiij *respo*ndet the Conclude & Monelighte wente in company togeather furth of England and mett by chaunce with the Harry & Iohn at Cape Tabron an howere or two

[1] The evidence about the consortship and the bond alleged to have been given by Watts relating to it and to the visit to Virginia is not complete (cp. pp. 705–8, 713–14), but that there was at least a verbal consortship between Watts's three ships and the *Moonlight* is denied by none of the witnesses. Nevertheless, it would appear that Watts's final decree allowed him to deny the *Moonlight* any of the fruits of such a partnership (cp. pp. 711–12 below), though that he did so appears unlikely (pp. 597, 712).

[2] Written 'to Berowne'.

before the prize nowe in question came in sighte with the reste of the Fleete and soe were in company togeather aboute a fortnightes space after or thereaboutes/.'

(*c*) Thomas Harden. 'Ad xxiij^{um} *respondet* the Conclude & Monelighte wente in company togeather out of England & mett by chaunce with the Harry & Iohn at the Cape Tabroune about ij of the clock in the after noone & the same eveninge the fleete came in sighte, and the nexte morninge they took the said prize/.'

(*d*) William Davell. 'Ad xxiij *respondet* the Conclude & Monelighte happened by chaunce with the Harry & Iohn & her consortes at Cape Tabrowne the same day that the Fleete came in sighte whereof they took one spanishe shippe in the morninge followinge as ys before deposed/.'

(*e*) John Bedford. 'Ad xxiij *respondet* that the Conclude mett with the Harry & Iohn by chaunce at Cape Tabrowne & was not longer in her company then one eveninge & parte of the nighte before the said prize was taken.'

(*f*) Henry Swanne. 'Ad xxiij *respondet* the Conclude was in company with the Harry & Iohn but a very shorte space for presently after they mett togeather at Cape Taberowne the Flete came in viewe & they made towardes them & the Conclude sayled out of sighte & they sawe her noe more vntill they mett in the nighte togeather with her and the prize/.'[1]

24. 'Item lett every witnes be asked whether in the Evening before the said Spanishe shippe (which is nowe the pryce) was pursued were there not many Englishe shippes to the number of ix. viij vij or vj togeathers and had they not then in vewe aboue x or xij Spanishe shippes?' *pro omnibus*

[1] The case, on the *Conclude's* part, rested effectively on her participation in the taking of the prize, but, since no one from the *Moonlight* could be got to say that the consortship entered into at Plymouth was intended to last after Watts's ships had been found, and since no specific consortship with the *Hopewell* and her consorts was made in the short time the *Conclude* was with them before the Spaniards were sighted, the legal argument against a consortship favoured Watts.

(*a*) Henry Millett. 'Ad vicesimum quartum respondet that when the Conclude & Monelighte came to Cape Taberowne they founde there the Harry & Iohn, the Little Iohn, the Iohn Evangeliste with two frigottes & a prize which they had taken, and aboute two houres after that they soe mett together, there came aboute xiij sayles of Spaniardes in viewe wherevnto all the said shippes gave chase.'

(*b*) John Tayler. 'Ad xxiiij respondet that this examinate comminge to Cape Tabroune in the Monelighte in company of the Conclude found there the Harry & Iohn the Iohn Evangeliste & the Iohn with two frigottes & a prize. And shortly after they escried xiij sayle of Spaniardes wherevnto they gave chase/.'

(*c*) Thomas Harden. 'Ad xxiiij respondet fyve englishe shippes with a prize and two Frigottes were at Cape Tabrowne where the Spanishe Fleete came in sighte wherevnto they all gave chase For this respondente came thither in one of them called the Monelighte in company of the Conclude & found the others beinge the Harry & Iohn, the Iohn & the Iohn Evangeliste there / with the Frigottes & prize aforesaid/.'

(*d*) William Davell. 'Ad xxiiij respondet affirmatiue/.'

(*e*) John Bedford. 'Ad xxiiij respondet when the Fleete of xj spanish shipps came in sighte, there were togeather at Cape Taberoune the Harry & Iohn, the Little Iohn, the Iohn Evangeliste, the Monelighte the Conclude with a prize & two Frigottes.'

(*f*) Henry Swanne. 'Ad xxiiij^{um} respondet there were fyve englishe shipps at Cape Taberoune when the flete came in sighte/.'

(*g*) Hugh Harding. 'Ad xxiiij respondet there were fyve men of warre all englishe shippes at Cape Taberowne when the Flete came in sighte, and all they gave chase to the said flete beinge aboute xj or xij sayles: And the same Flete this examinate & her company, and the company of the Monelighte before they came to Cape Taberowne did escry of of Savona and gave chase to them & forced

them to leeward, and caused the Admirall to breake his mayne yardes and nie to be caste away,[1] otherwise they had never gon to Cape Taberowne that viadge or byn seene by the Harry & Iohn & her consortes as the Spaniardes themselves taken in the said prize confessed/.'[2]

25. 'Item lett every witnes be asked whether when it beganne to be darke the said Spanishe Fleete did not bend theire Corse to avoyde the Englishe shippes and whether the shippe nowe in Controuersye did not secretly forsake the rest of the Fleete, thinking to steale away from the Englishe shippes?' pro *omnibus*

(*a*) Henry Millett. 'Ad vicesimum quintum *respondet* affirmatiue.'

(*b*) John Tayler. 'Ad xxv *respondet* affirmatiue For he sawe that before nighte came the Flete began to bende theire course to avoide the english shipps, and this shipp which ys taken in the nighte loste the Fleete, and was mett withall by the said thre shipps and taken by them as ys before answered/.'

(*c*) Thomas Harden. 'Ad xxv^{um} *respondet* the articulate Spanishe shipp as the company thereof declared did forsake the reste of the flete with intention to avoide to the englishe shippes as they sayd, and the reste of the flete did shape theire course soe as they mighte escape takinge as yt appeared by theire course before the nighte came/.'

(*d*) William Davell. 'Ad xxv *respondet* affirmatiue/.'

(*e*) John Bedford. 'Ad xxv *respondet* affirmatiue For the prize taken, was mett with all alone & taken beinge severed from the Flete, & hauinge begon a newe course to escape takinge in his opinion/.'

[1] This misadventure to Captain Vicente González's ship, which, Harding maintained, delayed the Santo Domingo squadron long enough for the English to concentrate off Cape Tiburon, is not related elsewhere.

[2] There were fourteen Spanish vessels in all (Wright, *Further English voyages*, p. 249). The five English ships were accompanied by three prizes, the *Trinidad* and two small frigates (cp. p. 584), making eight in all.

(*f*) Henry Swanne. 'Ad xxv *respondet* affirmatiue/.'

(*g*) Hugh Harding. 'Ad xxv *respondet* verum esse The Flete bended all theire force to escape in the eveninge & the prize that ys taken forsooke the flete and mente to escape away, and this *respondente* and company pursuinge in chase gott the sighte of the prize that is taken and foresooke her not vntill she was taken.'[1]

pro nostris 26. 'Item Lett every witnes of the *said* Harry & Iohn & the Moone-light be asked whether the Captaines or m*aster*s of those shippes did geve any order to the Conclude to followe the shippe nowe being the price or did knowe that she followed her before they of the said Harry and Iohn in the night tyme discryed the price? Ac inter*roget*ur vt supra/.'

(*a*) Henry Millett. 'Ad vicesimum sextum *respondet* he knoweth of noe order that was geven to the Conclude by the other shippes to followe the prize nowe taken, but beinge in companye all togeather when the Flete came in sighte, they made all after the said Flete & the Conclude happened in the night to meete with the prize nowe taken & kepte with her vntill the morninge as yt fell owt & was presente at the abordinge & takinge of the same.'

(*b*) John Tayler. 'Ad xxvj *respondet* the Conclude was soe farre of heade of all the shipps that he thinkethe she had noe order from the other shippes to follow the prize taken, But that the Conclude happely mett with the prize in the nighte as the Harry & Iohn with the Monelighte did and kepte with her vntill the morninge that they tooke her/.'

(*c*) Thomas Harden. 'Ad xxvj *respondet* he knoweth of noe order that was geven by eany of the shipps to the Conclude to followe the prize that ys taken or eanye other of the fleete But that the Conclude happened in the nighte by chaunce vppon her, and continued with her vntill she was taken/.'

[1] For the conflicting Spanish evidence on the course taken by the *Buen Jesus* cp. pp. 697–8 below and Wright, *Further English voyages*, pp. 250–3. It appears certain that she ran westwards towards Cuba instead of south after González to Jamaica.

(*d*) William Davell. 'Ad xxvj *respondet* this *respondente* and company in the Monelighte did knowe what course the Conclude kepte & that she was a heade of them in the sea followinge the Fleete Ac al*iter respondet* negatiue/.'

(*e*) John Bedford. 'Ad xxvj *respondet* the Conclude had first sighte of the prize that ys taken & first toulde this *respondente* and his company of the said prize, But they knewe not that the Conclude did followe that prize vntill in the nighte that by chaunce they mett togeather.'

(*f*) Henry Swanne. 'Ad xxvj *respondet* there was noe direction geven to the Conclude to followe this prize that ys taken, nether did this respondente & companye knowe she followed that prize vntill they mett with them in the nighte/.'[1]

27. 'Item lett every witnes be asked whether the Conclude were not departed fro*m* the Harry and Iohn and the Monelight before they of the said ij last named shippes did see the shippe w*hi*ch is nowe the price? or did knowe w*hi*ch way she went, or where they should meete with her? And how longe was the Conclude out of theire Companye before they of the said ij shippes or ether of the*m* espyed the price? Ac inter*roget*u*r* vt supra/' *pro omnibus*

(*a*) Henry Millett. 'Ad vicesimu*m* septimu*m* *respondet* that in the nighte tyme the Conclude was out of sighte foure or fyve houres gevinge chase to escry the Flete as he thinkethe and in the morninge this respondente sawe the Conclude was vppe with the prize that ys nowe taken.'

(*b*) John Tayler. 'Ad xxvij *respondet* in the nighte tyme they loste sighte one of an other, and the first newes that the Monelighte had of the Spaniardes in the nighte tyme was by the Concludes company who bare with the Monelighte & toulde them a greate spanishe shippe was aheade.'

[1] It appears certain that the *Conclude* was not acting under orders from any other vessel in the first stage at least of her chase of the *Buen Jesus*.

(*c*) Thomas Harden. 'Ad xxvij *respondet* the Conclude gave chase to the whole fleete & by theire owne reporte sawe the prize that ys taken single her selfe from the Fleete before yt was darcke & soe followed her, And yt chaunced that the Harry & Iohn & Monelighte happened to take the same course & to meete both with the Conclude and the prize in the nighte tyme after they had byn out of sighte and one loste an other some tyme.'

(*d*) William Davell. 'Ad xxvij *respondet* truth yt ys the Conclude beinge beste of sayle, sayled out of sighte and bare vpp with the spanishe shipp that ys nowe taken, and they sawe that the Conclude toke that course which they in the Monelighte & Harry & Iohn took And sayth the Conclude was out of sighte aboute foure howers in the nighte before this *respondente* and company mett with her & the prize a heade of the same/.'

(*e*) John Bedford. 'Ad xxvij *respondet* ver*um* esse that the Conclude dep*ar*ted from the Harry & Iohn & Monelighte before they had eany sighte of the prize or knewe what way she wente, and was aboute an hower or two out of sighte before this *respondentes* company sawe the prize/.'

(*f*) Henry Swanne. 'Ad xxvij *respondet* the Conclude first escried the prize & was out of sighte of the other shipps articulate some two or thre howers & this respondente & company did not knowe what course the Conclude kepte vntill they mett in the nighte.'

(*g*) Hugh Harding. 'Ad xxvij *respondet* the Conclude oversayled the articulate shippes the Harry & Iohn & Monelighte soe farre that they lost sighte one of an other, and sawe not one another agayne for the space of fower howers or thereaboutes vntill two howers after this *respondente* and company had escried the prize & haled her and hanged out a lighte that the other shippes a sterne mighte see them & followe them And beleveth the Harry & Iohn & Monelighte in the nighte tyme did not knowe what course this *respondente* kepte vntill they sawe this *respondentes* lighte & came vpp with him & found him with the prize.'

28. 'Item lett every witnes of the said Harry and Iohn or the Moonelight be asked, whether at the departure of the Conclude from those ij shippes, did the Captaines or masters of those ij shippes agree with the Conclude or make any order or appointment with her to haue her helpe in following or taking the shippe which is nowe the price, or that in any entriprise the Conclude and those other ij shippes should helpe or geeve signe one to the other for taking or following any price? Ac interrogetur vt supra.' *pro nostris*

(*a*) Henry Millett. 'Ad vicesimum octavum respondet affirmatiue there was noe appoyntmente made with the Conclude or order geven her to Followe the prize taken by the other shipps to his knowledge But beinge in company and gevinge chase as others did happened in the nighte vppon this taken prize & was presente at the takinge of the same. Vt predictum est.'

(*b*) John Tayler. 'Ad xxviij respondet negatiue to his knowledge/.'

(*c*) Thomas Harden. 'Ad vicesimum octavum respondet he knoweth of noe such appoynctemente that was made.'

(*d*) William Davell. 'Ad xxviij respondet there was noe such order or appoynctemente made with the Conclude.'

(*e*) John Bedford. 'Ad xxviij respondet theire was noe such appoinctemente made with the Conclude for that she out sayled them & soe first gott sighte of the prize as he thinkethe.'

(*f*) Henry Swanne. [See under 29.]

29. 'Item lett every witnes of the foresaid ij shippes be asked whether at or before the parting of the said ij shippes and the Conclude was there any agreement made betwene those ij shippes and the Conclude which Course the Conclude should take, or where she should meete againe? Ac interrogetur vt supra.' *pro nostris*

(*a*) Henry Millett. 'Ad vicesimum nonum respondet there was noe suche aggreemente made to his knowledge.'

(*b*) John Tayler. 'Ad xxix *respondet* negatiue to his knowledge/.'

(*c*) Thomas Harden. 'Ad xxix *respondet* negatiue/.'

(*d*) William Davell. 'Ad xxix *respondet* negatiue.'

(*e*) John Bedford. 'Ad xxix *respondet* negatiue.'

(*f*) Henry Swanne. 'Ad xxviij et xxix *respondet* there was noe such appoynctemente made or direction geven to his knowledge/.'

pro nostris 30. 'Item whosoever of the foresaid ij shippes is a witnes lett him be asked whether the Conclude at her p*ar*ting fro*m* those other two shippes did not take a Contrarye Course to that w*hi*ch the other ij shippes did and was fro*m* the*m* by the space of 24. 20. 18. 16. 14. 12. 10. 8. 6. 5. 4 or 3 houres before they knewe that the Conclude was in the Course, w*hi*ch those other ij shippes took or happened into whe*n* they first spied the price. / Ac in*terrogetur* vt supra/.'

(*a*) Henry Millett. 'Ad tricesimu*m* *respondet* the articulate thre shipps tooke all one course & shifted in the nighte and happened togeather in the nighte tyme agayne all chasinge the said prize which in morninge they tooke togeather And he verely thinketh the Conclude first mett with this prize in the nighte tyme For that when the Moonelighte escried the prize the Conclude was nere her and soe continued togeather vntill the morninge that tyme served to assaulte the said prize.'

(*b*) John Tayler. 'Ad xxx *respondet* the Conclude in the eveninge did beare righte with the Fleete and when nighte came she was out of sighte aboute thre houres soe as the *respondentes* company knewe not what course she kepte vntill she bare with them & tould them of the Spanishe shipp which in the morninge they tooke/.'

(*c*) Thomas Harden. 'Ad xxx *respondet* the Conclude as longe as they sawe her in chase after the flete did kepe the same course that the Harry & Iohn & Monelighte kepte, But afterwardes yt appeared the same Conclude did alter her course as the nighte

came. And this ex*amina*te & company did not knowe of that course which the Conclude kepte in the nighte vntill they mett togeather in the nighte tyme/.'

(*d*) William Davell. 'Ad xxx *respo*ndet this *respo*ndente & company did thincke that the Conclude did stand righte before them in the Monelighte & Harry & Iohn, and soe they founde yt to be afterwardes.'

(*e*) John Bedford. 'Ad xxx *respo*ndet he knoweth not what course the Conclude kepte But yt may be iudged she kepte noe bad course when she first gott sighte of the prize. And this *respo*ndente and his company knowe not in what course the Conclud was before they mett in the nighte.'

(*f*) Henry Swanne. 'Ad xxx *respo*ndet the Conclude tooke as yt fell out a course with the Spaniarde that was sondered from the Fleete and was out of sighte ij or iij howers in the nighte vntill they mett with the prize & Conclude togeather.'

31. 'Item lett every witnes of the foresaid ij shippes be asked whether of purpose or by Chaunce they followed the Conclude, or did meete with her by any foreappointed Matche, or by Chaunce when they Came neere the shippe w*hi*ch is nowe the price? Ac in*terroge*tur vt supra.' *pro nostris*

(*a*) Henry Millett. 'Ad xxxi *respo*ndet they mett with the Conclude in the nighte tyme by chaunce as they gave chase to the Flete & happened vppon the prize taken.'

(*b*) John Tayler. 'Ad xxxj *respo*ndet they mett with the Conclude in the nighte tyme by chaunce not havinge made eany appoynctemente before to his knowledge/.'

(*c*) Thomas Harden. 'Ad xxxj *respo*ndet they mett by chaunce and by noe foreapoyncted match/.'

(*d*) William Davell. 'Ad xxxj *respo*ndet they mett not with the Conclude by eany appoynctemente made, but by chaunce standinge in the same course/.'

(*e*) John Bedford. 'Ad xxxj *respondet* they mett with the Conclude by fortune and by noe foreapoyncted matche.'

(*f*) Henry Swanne. 'Ad xxxj *respondet* they mett by chaunce with the Conclude when the lighte was showed and not by eany appoynctemente.'[1]

pro omnibus 32. 'Item interroget*ur* quilibet testis in hac *causa* p*ro*ductis in vim Iuramen*ti* sui, what gold sylv*er* Coyne pearles or iewels or other goods he or any other of his knoledge, did take or gett in or out of the price libelled, and of what value was the same gold pearle Coyne or Iewells or other goode*s* soe take*n* away by him or any to his knoledge. Ac in*terroget*ur vt supra.'

(*a*) Henry Millett. 'Ad xxxii *respondet* he for his p*ar*te was not on borde the prize vntill all men were placed in her to bringe her home neyther had he eany goold silver pearles Iewells or other thinge out of her what others haue he knoweth not.'

(*b*) John Tayler. 'Ad xxxij *respondet* that he this *respondente* for his p*ar*te was not on borde the prize which ys taken vntill a fortnighte after she was taken and gott nothinge out of her / But graunteth Captaine Cocke & the m*aster* of the Monelighte had certain pearle & goulde which they found in the prize esteemed to be of good price/.'

(*c*) Thomas Harden. 'Ad xxxij *respondet* he gott nothinge for his p*ar*te out of the prize But herd there was pearle goulde & money in the prize which they had amongst them.'

(*d*) William Davell. 'Ad xxxij *respondet* for his p*ar*te he had noe pearle silver or gould out of the prize What other men haue gotten he knowethe not.'

[1] The course of events from the first sighting of the Spaniard until firing began in the morning is so variously described (cp. pp. 626–7, 630, 635–6, 640–1, 643–4, 683–4, 697–702, and Wright, *Further English voyages*, pp. 250–3, that an entirely satisfactory analysis of the evidence is not possible (cp. pp. 584–6 above). It may be noted in the Spanish accounts (in Wright) that the three English ships are throughout described as if they were acting together in close association.

(*e*) John Bedford. 'Ad xxxij^{um} *respondet* he cannot declare of eany men that gott eany such thinges in the said prize, and yf he for his p*ar*te gotten eany thinge he ys answerable for yt/.'

(*f*) Henry Swanne. 'Ad xxxij *respondet* he was not on borde the prize vntill she was manned with englishe men to be broughte into England.

Soe as he nether had gould silver Iewells pearle nor nothinge else in her what other men gott he knoweth not.'

(*g*) Hugh Harding. 'Ad xxxij *respondet* he belevethe he ys not bounde to chardge him selfe yf he can be chardged with eany such thinges as are conteyned in this article And what others had he doth not knowe but by reporte: That Abraham Cocke had soe much pearle as wayed a sacre shott & a minion shott/.'[1]

33. 'I*tem* q*uo*d qu*i*l*i*bet testis reddat veras c*au*sas scientie sue &c.'

(*a*–*g*) 'Ad vlt*imum* reddit causas scientie sue vt supra.'

(*a*) [*Signed:*] 'by me Harry Mellett' [*sic*]; (*b*) [*Signed:*] 'John Taylor'; (*c*) [*Initialled:*] 'T H'; (*d*) [*Signed:*] 'by me William Dable' [*sic*]; (*e*) [*Signed:*] 'By me Iohn Bedford'; (*f*) [*Signed:*] 'by me henry swan'; (*g*) [*Signed:*] 'By me Hugh Hardinge'.

[1] The question was an awkward one, since an affirmative answer would involve the person replying in the parallel inquiry on behalf of the Lord High Admiral into what prize goods were taken. Cocke and Hutton (p. 691 below) were very cautious in their replies when Caesar had them asked this question. Harding's reply is, however, subtle. By refusing to reply, on the ground that he is not bound to convict himself of concealing prize goods, he implies that he received something of value from the *Buen Jesus*, and therefore implies in turn that the *Conclude's* officers were intimately involved in sharing out the more valuable prize goods on 3 July.

97. 3 NOVEMBER 1590.
THOMAS MIDDLETON, JAMES BAGGE, NICHOLAS GLANVILLE, ETC. *v.* ROBERT HALLETT[1]

The defence brings forward a *materia* with positions:[2] Robert Hallett to be called to appear to answer the *materia* and its positions. Clerke junior produces, as witnesses on the *materia*, Laurence Cock, Simon Traunton, Thomas Matson, Robert Adams, William Ratcliffe, and John Button.[3]

98. 3 NOVEMBER 1590.
THE PERSONAL ANSWER OF ROBERT HALLETT, IN THOMAS MIDDLETON, ETC. *v.* ROBERT HALLETT[4]

die martis tertio novembris 1590

Responsa personalia Roberti Hallett facta posicionibus Libelli ex parte Thome Midleton Iacobi Bagge et Nicholai Glanvile contra eum data sequuntur.

Ad primum respondet quod credit eundem esse verum.

Ad secundum respondet et credit eundem esse verum.

Ad tertium non credit eundem esse verum in aliquo.

Ad quartum respondet et Credit That before the Spainishe Fleett being aboute xiij sayles as he thinketh cominge from Sancto Domingo in vewe of certayne Englishe Shippes beinge in nomber aboute fyue or sixe lyinge at the westerne end of High Spaniola the Conclude had byne to gather with the other Englishe Shippes the Harry and Iohn and the Monelight about ij or three houres[5]

[1] Abstract, translated.

[2] This was an additional rebuttal of the libel. It set out why, in the opinion of the defence, the libel did not apply to the case, and added 'positions' setting out the detailed points on which a fresh set of articles to be put before witnesses were based.

[3] None of their depositions has been traced. The *materia* may, however, have been set aside as inadmissible and no examinations made.

[4] P.R.O., H.C.A. 13/101. The articles to which it is the answer have not been found, but they are apparently the same as those administered to the other seven witnesses above, pp. 625–46.

[5] Cp. pp. 670–1 above.

And he beleveth that after the Spainishe Fleete espied the Englishe Shippes they cast aboute And the Shipp which is nowe the prize in the Eveninge when it beganne to be darke parted her self from the Rest of the Spainishe Fleet And this respondent beleveth that he and others which were in the Englishe Shippes coniecturing of the Intente of the Spaniardes at their makinge from them dyd every Shippe Savinge those which before were in Consorte togather bend themeselves to such Courses as they thought good for theire purposes and he beleveth that the Conclude for her parte Chaunced to followe the Course which the Spainishe Shippe which is nowe the prize tooke And yt happened likewise that without the knowledge of the sayd Conclude soe doinge the Harry and Iohn and the Monelight happened into the same Course And he beleveth that all the sayd three Shippes followed the sayd spainish Shippe, vnknowinge to them of the Harry and Iohn that the Conclude was in that Course vntyll the Harry and Iohn was in vewe and nere to the sayd Spainishe Shippe and had halled to them of the Conclude whome at the first seeinge of her neere the sayd Spainishe shippe they of the Harry and Iohn tooke and gessed to have byne likewise a Spaniarde And he beleveth that after that tyme beinge from x of the Clocke in the night vntill the morninge followinge the Sayd shippe called the Harry and Iohn and Monelight beinge Consorted[1] kepte out with the said Spanishe Shippe and the Conclude came out also alonge with the sayd Spainishe Shippe some what to Leewarde of her till the Spainishe shippe had yelded to the Harry and Iohn[2] and he beleueth that in such sorte as is before sayd, and not otherwise the sayd shippes followed the Spainishe Shippes which is nowe the prize et aliter non credit Articulum esse verum in aliquo.

Ad Quintum respondet that he beleveth that the Harry and Iohn and the Monelight were farre better of sayle then the Spainishe

[1] The admission of consortship with the *Moonlight* was against the subsequent interest of Hallett's principals, but it does not appear to have prejudiced their case (cp. p. 712).

[2] The story of the night varies substantially from that told by Hugh Harding, pp. 643–4.

Shippe articulate And that after the Harry and Iohn had once espied her in the night before she was taken she never gatt owte of the sight of the sayd Harry and Iohn and the Monelight[1] nor dyd once goe from them as he beleveth till she was taken et al*iter* non credit articulum esse verum in aliquo.

Ad sextu*m* Credit that the Conclude was a smale and light Pinnace about xxiiij tonnes as he beleveth and swifter of sayle then the Harry and Iohn or the Monelight[2] And beleveth that before the Harry and Iohn and the Monelight came in sight and vppe to the Spainishe shippe articulate the Conclude without the appointment or knowledge of this *resp*ondent or those w*hich* were in the Harry and Iohn or the Monelight as he beleveth and without any possebility or hope (as he beleveth) to subdue to her the sayd Conclude the same spainishe shippe dyd followe after her or alonge with her and keept her in sight et al*iter* no*n* Credit articulu*m* esse veru*m* in aliquo.

Ad Septimu*m* credit that the Conclude by swifte saylinge keepte in sighte with the Spainishe shippe articulate in the night tyme and he belevethe that the Spainishe Shippe articulate could not goe owt of her sight but w*i*thall he beleveth that as the sayd Conclude might and dyd keepe the sight of the sayd spainish Shippe soe she dyd not nor durst not medle with her nether was in any hoppe or possibility to subdue or take her et al*iter* non Credit ar*ticu*lu*m* esse veru*m* in aliquo.

Ad Octavu*m* non Credit that the Conclude had any light in her that was seene to this Respondent or to otheres of the Harry and Iohn or the Monelight (as he is p*er*swaded)[3] et pro p*ar*te sua no*n* Credit Contenta in hoc articulo esse vera in aliquo.

Ad Nonu*m* Credit that the spainish shippe articulate was subdued by the Harry and Iohn and dyd yeld to her only as he

[1] The Spaniards got the impression that the three English vessels stayed together during the night (Wright, *Further English voyages*, p. 253), but we lack proof they did.

[2] For her size and sailing capacity, see pp. 656–7, 674, 678–80.

[3] On the light, see pp. 627, 630, 633, 636, 641, 644, 651–4 above.

beleveth And also he beleveth that the Company of the Harry and Iohn first came one borde the sayd Spainishe shippe and had the possession therof And of the goodes therin Laden before any eyther of the Monelight or of the Conclude dyd enter the same but he beleveth that the master and Captaine and some other came owt of the same Conclude into the sayd Spainishe shippe a prety while after she was in the possession of those of the Harry and Iohn, but he beleveth they never wer in quiett or Lawfull possession of the sayd Spainishe Shippe or the goodes therin as he beleveth for his parte.[1]

Ad decimum non Credit eundem esse verum in aliquo sed refert se ad iura quoad contenta in isto Articulo.

Ad vndecimum for his parte he doth not knowe nor is pryvye of any such agreement or Compacte as in this Article is pretended but he beleveth that after this Respondent was entred as master in the prize and dyd see more Spaniardes there then was expedient (as he supposed) he desired them of the Conclude to take some of the Spaniardes furth into the sayd Conclude[2] And he beleveth they tooke in fyve of them and left of theire men three one borde the prize which remayned there a moneth or ther aboute as he beleveth but for the rest of the Article for his parte he doth not beleve the same to be trewe, yet he refereth him selfe to the Lawe therin.

Ad duodecimum Credit that yt was agreed by master Wattes and the Rest which were Consorted with him before the voyadge in question beganne that this respondent should be placed master And should bringe home the best prize which in the sayd voyadge should be taken And the Spainishe shippe articulate beinge soe he beleveth he entred as master into her and had the Chardge of guidinge her for England by the sayd agreement made before there goinge furth as he beleveth et aliter non Credit Articulum esse verum in aliquo.

Ad decimum tertium Articulum credit that for his parte, takinge it that such of the Conclude as stayed one borde the prize articulate had nothinge to doe there with and perceyvinge victualles to fall

[1] Cp. pp. 644–5. [2] Cp. p. 644.

scanty in the sayd prize soe that as it seemed there would be scant sufficient to serve all the Company for England this Respondent at such tyme as he came at the Ilandes where Sir Iohn Hawkins lay with the Englishe shippes[1] he caused those of the Conclude which were then in the sayd prize and had there bynne by the space of a moneth or ther about before to goe forth of the said prize which he beleveth they dyd[2] Et aliter non Credit Articulum esse verum in aliquo Savinge he beleveth at his Cominge home to England he delivered the spainishe Shippe articulate and the goodes therin To Master Iohn Wattes and his Company as he ought to have done as he thinketh.

Ad decimum Quartum articulum he answereth that the goodes taken in the shippe articulate are not yet weyed soe farre as he knoweth nether is it knowen to this respondent what quantity of goodes came therin or of what value the same prize was or is, and therfore he prayeth farther Respecte for answeringe of this Article but in the meane tyme yf he shalbe vrged to answer absolutely he refereth him self to the Appraysment made or to be made of the sayd Shippe and goodes by the Aucthority of this Court and beleveth the same prize to be of such valeue as she is or shalbe prized at by order of this Courte.

Ad decimum Quintum for his parte he doth not knowe that any share of the prize articulate is due to the plaintiffes in this sute or to the Company or owneres of the Conclude articulate and therfore doth not beleeue this Article to be trewe in any parte therof.

Ad decimum sextum he doth not Remember nor beleve that he was Required as is pretended in this Article and for his parte he sayeth it is well knowen to the Plaintiffes wher the prize is and who hath the same And that this Respondent hath noe parte of yt as they knowe /

Ad decimum septimum Credit that he never refused as is pretended, but he sayeth he nether came nor Could doe as the

[1] Cp. pp. 620–1 above.

[2] This appears disingenuous at the least (cp. pp. 645–6).

Plaintiffes seeme by this Article and this sute to Requier at his handes for that he hath not the prize in his power as they knowe.[1]

Ad decimum octavum non Credit eundem esse verum pro parte sua in aliquo.

Ad decimum nonum credit esse subditum iurisdictionem Curie sed non Ratione huius litis.

Ad vicesimum Credit querelatum de facto sed non legitime ut credit.

Ad vltimum Credit Credita et negat negata.

[*Signed:*] By me Robart Hallett.

99. NOVEMBER 1590.

EXAMINATIONS CONCERNING THE *BUEN JESUS*, ETC., MADE ON BEHALF OF THE LORD HIGH ADMIRAL

1. What quantity of goods was taken in the Indies, especially pearls, silver, gold—coin or bullion, silks, jewels and 'other riche comodities'?[2]

(*a*) 10 November 1590. 'Abraham Cocke of Lymehouse mariner late Captaine of the Harry & Iohn.'

'To the first article he answereth he tooke one spanishe prize in the Indies laden with hides suger & ginger which ys arrived in the thames & there dischardged before this examinate came home[3] soe as he cannot declare the quantity of the goodes on borde the same [as] bye the Inventary thereof taken yt will appeare. And

[1] This evidently refers to Hallett's reaction to attempts on Middleton's part to get some control of the prize after her arrival in the Thames (cp. pp. 623–4 above).

[2] The articles have been elaborated from the rough note of their content by Dr Julius Caesar in P.R.O., H.C.A. 24/58, fo. 157. Lord Charles Howard was entitled to one-tenth of prizes, in kind, and Caesar to one-twentieth of this (Andrews, 'Elizabethan privateering', pp. 223–7). The depositions are in P.R.O., H.C.A. 13/28, under date.

[3] Arriving at Plymouth on 24 October (p. 622 above), Cocke must have come to London very shortly after. The *Buen Jesus* had arrived in the Thames before 11 October (p. 623 above).

before that this ex*amina*te tooke a smale frigott hauing in her aboute xxv C of ginger and fifty hides & nothinge else:[1] And more prizes this ex*amina*te was not at the takinge of what his consort*es* haue taken he knoweth not/.'[2]

(*b*) 10 November 1590. 'Rob*er*te Hutton of Lymehouse mariner late m*aste*r of the Harry & Iohn of the age of xxxviij yeares or thereabout*es*.'

'To the first article he deposeth that the said shipp the Harry & Iohn only tooke at sea this viadge a smale Frigott with two dry fatt*es* and a butt of ginger, and the prize of ginger suger and hides which ys dischardged in this ryver of Thames before this ex*amina*te came heare what there consort*es* took he knoweth not/.'

(*c*) 10 November 1590. 'Michaell Geere of Lymehouse mariner late m*aste*r of the Iohn of London.'

'To the first article he deposeth that he this ex*amina*te with the Iohn beinge viceadmirall, and the pinnace called the Iohn Evangeliste W*illia*m Lane Captaine gevinge chase to the S[t] Domingo Fleete did dryve two on shore on the Island Gema[ica] in the Indies which they fetched of the men beinge row a shore,[3] one of which shippes the nexte morninge sonke before the gott eany good*es* out of her & the other they caried to the weste p*ar*te of the Islande and there dischardged soe much of her ladinge beinge suger hid*es* ginger & some brasell into the said Iohn & Iohn Evangeliste as they could stowe therein & the reste the soncke with the shippe / & heved overborde/.

And the same which they tooke in they haue broughte to this City of London & there delivered the same what the quantity

[1] The ten-ton frigate was taken at Yaguana, Puerto Rico, on the night of 7 May. There is no evidence that she was brought home to England.

[2] This was somewhat disingenuous since he had the *John Evangelist* under his command when she took the *Trinidad* (p. 604 above).

[3] The *Little John* under Captain Christopher Newport, having parted company with the *Harry and John* and *Moonlight* on 2 July, with the *John Evangelist*, the *Trinidad* and one or two small frigates had sailed after González for Santiago de la Vega, Jamaica, and this incident occurred on 3 July (cp. pp. 619, 690).

thereof was he knoweth not[1] And sayth that some of the company of the Iohn Evangeliste beinge in theire shipp boate & havinge lefte theire shipp, wente alonge the quoaste & fortuned into a harbor where they found two shipps & tooke one of them & broughte the same away and came therewith to the place where they were dischardginge the other prize as ys aforesaid. Which shippe had hides & woode in her the quantity he knoweth not and the same was delivered at plimouthe/.[2]

Also they mett with two spaniardes nere havana which they foughte withall & soncke one of them, and ron the other ashore.[3] And out of her which soncke they saved thre chestes of dry cochenill & thre Chestes of wett cochenill nyntetene [*sic*] boultes of damaske a Cheste of cordovan & Calve skynnes, some fewe peeces of died coarse vuleuite & some peeces of coarse fustians with certaine peeces of white ypres whiche the company all shared savinge the silk & cochenill which was broughte to London & here delivered.[4]

Also they tooke within fewe dayes after a frigott cominge from S[t] John de Lowe laden with hides meate & breade & tooke out such breade & meate as they wanted & turned the reste away.[5]

And other prizes he was not at the takinge of, nether knoweth of more that were taken by the consortes Savinge the prize which was taken by the Harry & Iohn and ys broughte into this ryver.

[1] No valuation of this cargo of sugar, hides, ginger and brazilwood has been found. For the scuttling of the prize at Cape San Antonio, Cuba, see pp. 690–1; Wright, *Further English voyages*, pp. 255–6.

[2] This episode in Cuba is not mentioned elsewhere. The valuation of the hides and wood has not been found. The *Hopewell* met her off the Azores on 18 September, and she apparently put into Plymouth in October (pp. 595, 619).

[3] The *Nuestra Señora del Rosario* and another vessel of Rodrigo de Rada's Mexican fleet. For the struggle cp. the English and Spanish accounts, pp. 619–20, 691; Wright, *Further English voyages*, pp. 245–9, 256–7, 259.

[4] Of the cochineal, damask, cordwain (Spanish leather) and calf-skins, velvet, fustians and Ypres (linen), no account has been found (cp. Newport, pp. 691–2 below).

[5] Laden, the Spaniards said, with flour and biscuit, of which the English took only the biscuit. She entered Havana harbour about 11/21 August (Wright, *Further English voyages*, p. 259).

(*d*) Monday. 23 November 1590. 'Christopher Newporte of Lymehouse mariner aged xxx yeares or thereaboutes.'[1]

'To the first article he sayth he was Captaine of the Little Iohn this late viadge to the Indies, and beinge in company of the Harry and Iohn one of his consortes they first tooke two frigottes one beinge laden with hydes & the other with stones, and her with hides they vnladed & putt the hides a shore in the Indies thinkinge to take them on borde agayne & soe vsed the frigott beinge of vj or vij tonnes for theire necessary vses, & by reason of purchase that happened they wente away & lefte the said hydes on the shore[2] Afterwardes they tooke an other frigott with aboute one thowsand poundes & putt xviij men into her to bringe her for Englande & loste them in the Indies what ys become of them god knoweth.[3] Nexte the Harry & Iohn tooke a Spanishe shippe with suger ginger & hides which ys broughte into this Ryuer of Thames & there landed

And the nexte day[4] the Iohn, the Iohn Euangeliste & two frigottes did dryve two other shippes of the Spanishe flete on shore, and gott them of agayne, and the nexte day one of them soncke without savinge eany goodes out of the same/and the other havinge loste her rudder, & not beinge able to be broughte home, they tooke out xvj Chestes of suger into the Iohn Euangeliste, and iijCL hides also were taken into the Iohn with some bundells of salsaperill and nothinge else to his remembraunce savinge some

[1] For Newport, see D. B. Quinn, 'Christopher Newport in 1590', in *North Carolina Hist. Rev.*, XXIX, 309–16; K. R. Andrews, 'Christopher Newport', in *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., XI (1954), 28–41.

[2] The frigates were taken on 7 May and 14 June respectively, and the hides evidently abandoned on 2 July (cp. pp. 601–4 above), the latter incident not being mentioned elsewhere.

[3] The *Trinidad*, taken at Yaguana by the *John Evangelist*, was brought to Cape Tiburon about 25 June. The Spaniards said she had about 1300 hides and 250 cwt. of *cassia fistula* on board. White put her cargo's value somewhat higher than Newport. The *Trinidad* appears to have parted company with the *Little John* on the night of 2–3 July: some of her men were released later on Cuba, but probably from one of the other vessels. Whether she reached England later is not certainly known. (Cp. pp. 591, 595, 604; Wright, *Further English voyages*, pp. 254–6.)

[4] 3 July.

quantity of ginger was also taken out of the said prize and the reste was soncke in the shippe.[1]

Afterwardes saylinge to S^t^ Antony they foughte with two shippes havinge of the Kinges treasure, and tooke one of them beinge laden with Cochenile hides & treasure as he herde and after they had taken out six Chestes & bagges of Cochenile she presently soncke with all her ladinge within one quarter of an hower after they tooke her And the other shipp after sore fighte they drove a shore vppon the Rockes and was wholy caste away beinge laden with fyve hundreth Chestes of Cochenile & thre hundreth Chestes of silkes[2] as he herde by a Frigott laden with meale which they tooke the nexte day after bounde from S^t^ Iohn de Lous to Avana.'[3]

2. Who hath any? And where they be?

(*a*) Abraham Cocke. 'To the second he sayth this examinate hath in his possession six smale bagges of pearle which were founde in the said prize, and sealed vppe with consentes of his consortes & others & soe they continewe still. And other pearle silver gould, coynes or in bullion silk Iewells or other ritch commodityes he knoweth not of that were in the said prize. Savinge a smale sawser of silver of xs price, a candlesticke of silver of xls valewe or thereaboutes & one ende of goulde in bullion of aboute two ounces weighte which this examinate hath in his custody[4] And more he cannot depose/.'

[*Signed:*] abraham Cocke

(*b*) Robert Hutton. 'To the second he sayth he knowth of noe other pearle gould silver silke or other thinges that were taken in the said shippe more then the goodes broughte home, and a bagge of pearle which Abraham Cocke hath in his custody sealed vppe And more he cannot depose/.'

[*Signed:*] Robert Hutton

[1] Cp. p. 688 above.

[2] In this fight Newport lost his arm (cp. p. 619 above). For the cargoes and their value, see pp. 620, 689.

[3] St Jean de Luz to Havana, cp. p. 689.

[4] Estimates of the value of the gold, silver and pearls on the *Buen Jesus* varied from 2500 to 4000 ducats) cp. p. 703).

(*c*) Michael Geere. 'To the seconde he denieth that there was eany pearle, gould silver Iewells or other thinges taken in the said prizes more then he hath before declared Savinge aboute xx ragges of pearle of noe valewe which were vppon a crosse or bodyce of silke.'[1]

[*Signed:*] Mighell Geere

(*d*) Christopher Newport. 'To the second he sayth he sawe nether pearle Iewell silver or goulde that was taken in eany of the said prizes savinge aboute xij^{li} in silver which was taken out of the prize that soncke & shared amongst the company But sayth theire was a bagge of pearle which Abraham Cocke had in his custody & broughte home what ys become thereof he knoweth not/ And saythe aboute xviij boultes of silke was gotten out of the shipp that soncke beinge founde in the mariners Chestes whereof xij boultes were delivered to Master Wattes the company shared the reste/ Affirminge that all the Cochenill & other goodes which he hath before spoken of were broughte home to this City & delivered to the owners And other thinges theire was not taken to his knowledge of which silke this examinate had two boultes & a haulfe & aboute thre or foure poundes in money which he spente in releevinge sicke folckes in the viadge.'[2]

[*Signed:*] x$\bar{p}$ofer newport

100. 20 DECEMBER 1590.

APPRAISEMENT OF THE *BUEN JESUS*[3]

An Inventory indented made the xxth of December 1590 and in the xxxiijth yeare of the Raigne of our soveraigne Lady Elizabeth by the grace of god Quene of England France and Ireland Defendour of the faith &c contayninge the appraysment and valuacion of a Spanishe shipp called the greate Iesus of Civill and her ladinge

[1] Not mentioned elsewhere.

[2] The total admissions then amount to 2 oz. gold bullion, £12, a saucer and a candlestick in silver, six small bags of pearls and a pearl-embroidered bodice, and 18 bolts of silk.

[3] P.R.O., H.C.A. 24/58, no. 72, fo. 115, attached to the final decree, document no. 106, pp. 711–12 below.

lately taken at sea nere Cape Taberoune in the Indies by the Harry and Iohn of London Captaine Abraham Cocke the Iohn Evangells[1] of London William Lane Captaine the Iohn of London Christopher Newporte Captaine the Monelighte of Plymouth [ ][2] Captaine all consortes and the Conclude of Plymouth sett furth to sea with severall lettres of Reprisall graunted by the Right honorable Charles Lord Howarde Lord highe Admirall of England to Iohn Wattes and companie of London merchauntes Nicholas Glanvile of Tavestocke in the county of Devon and others, merchantes and broughte to the porte of London and there viewed by the officers of the Admiralty and duly appraysed by the persons herevnder named as followeth/

	li. s d
Inprimis we the appraysers herevnder named havinge viewed and sene the goodes broughte in the said prize to the porte of London doe finde these goodes followinge to be taken therein— viz 5149 hides[3] whereof 4249 hides beinge the best we valewe at viij s the hide amounteth to	1699 . 12 . 0
Item 400 wett hides we prayse at iij s iiij d the hide makinge	0066 . 13 . 4
Item 500 hides worme eaten at vs. the pece amountethe to	0125 . 00 . 0
Item 146 greate Chestes of suger at 6 C nett is 876 C at xxxij s per C amounteth	1401 . 12 . 0
Item 78½ smale chestes[4] weyinge 196 C ¼ at xlv s per C maketh	0441 . 12 . 6

[1] 'the Angell' crossed out. [2] Blank. Edward Spicer was captain.

[3] The captain's estimate was 'over five thousand hides' (Wright, *Further English voyages*, p. 252), so that the full number was probably still there.

[4] The captain estimated there were 'two hundred boxes' (ibid.). If we estimate the small chests as approximately half the larger ones we get a total of 185¼ of the 'greate chests', which is probably near the total, though at least two chests were removed just after the prize was taken (cp. pp. 633–4, 637, 641 above).

Item 14 chestes of ginger weyinge iiij C a pece is 56 C at xxxvs *per* C maketh	0098 . 00 . 0
Item 736 bagges of ginger at j C ¼ a pece is 922 C at xxxvs *per* C maketh	1613 . 00 . 6
Item 131 bagges[1] i punchion and j driefatt of rotten ginger valued at	0015 . 00 . 0
Item 2 pipes 2 hogsheades and 4 barrells and 2 serons of India pepper[2] weyinge 5 C at iiij li. *per* C maketh	0020 . 00
Item 4 chestes and 2 bagges of cochenill[3] wett weyinge vj C at 33 £ 6s . 8d *per* C is	0200 .
Item 10 Eliphantes teeth[4] weyinge 5 C at iiij li *per* C maketh	0020 .
Item 440 endes of lignum vite[5] con*taining* vij tonns at vij li. *per* tonn amounteth to	0042
Item 7 bundles of salsaperilla wett weyinge ij C ½[6] worth	0010
Item 200 endes of wood to burne[7] praysed at	0004

[1] Ignoring the two measures following, we thus get a total of 899¾ 'C', where the captain said there were 'two thousand hundredweight' on board (Wright, *Further English voyages*, p. 252). Even allowing for possible differences between English and Spanish weights (and for the variations in the English 'C'), it seems likely that about half the ginger had been removed.

[2] 'ten or twelve hogsheads of *aji*' (ibid.), with the possibility that some had been removed.

[3] Not elsewhere mentioned.

[4] With the Guinea pepper mentioned below (p. 703) these were by-products of the slave trade. (Cp. p. 224, 757 above).

[5] 'about four hundred hundredweight' (Wright, *Further English voyages*, p. 252), so that perhaps more than half had been removed.

[6] 'twenty hundredweight of zarzaparilla' (ibid,), so that it is probable that all that was of any value had been removed.

[7] For gold, silver, pearls, and Guinea pepper, see pp. 680–1, 702–3.

Item the hull of the saide shipp with her tacle and furniture[1] valewed at } 0050

Summa Totalis— 5806l. 10s. 4d[2]

Wylliam brockbancke — per me Thomas Barbar
Rogar Perrot grocer — per me Ric' Poyntell
George Bolles grocer — per me Wy' bygatte
Iohn Hyd grocer

101. JANUARY 1591.

ARTICLES ON BEHALF OF JOHN WATTS AND PARTNERS, WITH DEPOSITIONS IN REPLY[3]

'Articles excepted on the behaulfe of Iohn Wattes Merchaunt and others concerninge a late Indian voyadge made by the shippes called the Harry and Iohn, The Moonelight, The Iohn, and the Iohn Evangeliste and the owners and setters forthe and the companies of the said shippes.'

1–4. 'whether was there any newe Consorte shippe made at the Sea betweene the Captaine and Companye of the Moonelight for themselves and the said Moonelight and the Captaines and Companies of the three shippes named the Harry and Iohn, the Iohn, and the Iohn Evangeliste, or any of those iij shippes, at or after such tyme as the said Moonelight came in company of the said other three shippes at the Sea, before the taking of the Ihesus of

[1] The figure for the hull is a purely nominal one, though in view of the damage suffered by the cargo, the vessel was evidently leaking, and may otherwise have been in poor condition.

[2] In view of the fact that a good deal of the lighter and more valuable part of the cargo had probably been removed, the valuation is a high one. Dr K. R. Andrews traced only six other prizes valued at over £5000 brought to London in the three years 1589–91, and only seven more for the rest of the country ('Elizabethan privateering', p. 74).

[3] P.R.O., H.C.A. 24/58, no. 74, fos. 118–20, with depositions of 8 January 1591 from H.C.A. 13/28. The articles and the answers have been combined, with formal words and phrases eliminated, and the former renumbered to correspond with the latter.

Ciuill, other then such as was made before the going forthe to sea of the said three shippes, and whether could there any consorte haue bene made at the Sea without your knowledge and pryvitie; and shew a Reason of your deposition herin, and whether were not yow the persons and officers in the said iij shippes without whose consent there could noe consorte be made, with the said Moonelight and her Companye with anye of the said three shippes.[1]

Item did not Abraham Cocke being Captaine of the Harry and Iohn and his company of the said shippe, alone assalt the Ihesus of Civill and did alone fight with her? and whether they alone without any ayde geeve them from the Moonelight did not subdue the said Ihesus and cause her to yeld to the said Harry and Iohn onelye?'

(*a*) 8 January 1591.[2] 'Anthonio de Samora Carenio of S[t] Domingo in the Indies where he was borne aged xxviij yeares or thereaboutes sworne and examined before the righte worshipfull Master Doctor Cesar Iudge of her maiestes high Courte of the Admiraltye vppon certaine articles ministred on the behaulfe of Iohn Wattes & other merchantes of London Sayth therevnto by interpretation of Fraunces Marquino speakinge the Spanishe language sworne truly to interprete as followeth

To the first second third & fourth articles he cannot depose.'

(*b*) 8 January 1591. 'Francisco Gomez of S[t] Domingo in the west Indies late purser[3] of the Goode Iesus of Civill, of the age of xxij yeares or thereaboutes sworne & examined before the said Iudge of the Admiralty vppon the foresaid articles & Sayth there-

[1] This reveals a certain confidence on Watts's part that, whether or not a document or verbal agreement embodied a consortship with the *Moonlight*, it would not be produced or revealed (cp. pp. 704–10). It should also be noted that, so far as we know, this question was not asked of any witnesses who were likely to be able to answer it (cp. p. 683 above).

[2] The date in the document, and in that following, is of course 8 January 1590[–1].

[3] As purser, his evidence on what happened to the cargo would be especially valuable for Watts to have.

vnto by interpretation aforesaid as followeth / To the first second third & iiijth articles he cannot depose.'

5. 'Item whether the shippe called the Ihesus and the goods in her were not taken and subdued by the shippe called the Harry and Iohn and were first entred and possessed by the Captaine and master of the said Harry & Iohn or some other of the same shippe by order of the said Captaine or master, ac interrogetur ut supra.'

(*a*) Anthonio de Samora Carenio. 'To the Vth he deposeth that the Greate Iesus of Civill beinge laden at S^{t} Domingo with suger hides ginger, lignum vite, India pepper & other goodes, departed from thence in Iune laste bound for Civill, and followinge her viadge thitherwards in a flete of shippes, they sawe viij shippes at Cape Taberoune in the Indies which they imagined to be men of warre, and the greate Iesus whereof this examinate was master thereuppon forsooke the flete in the eveninge with intente to escape the said men of warre/ and about midnighte followinge a shipp of warre mett with this examinate and the said greate Iesus, and sounded a trumpett vnto them, and kepte companye with them all the nighte, and in the morninge this examinate mighte see the man of warre & two other shippes with him, which he thoughte to be prizes to the said man of warre, and presently the said man of warre which afterwards this examinate knewe to be called the Harry & Iohn and one Cocke to be Captaine thereof did first assaulte and fighte with the greate Iesus and killed thre of this examinates companye, and then tooke the same shippe without eany aide or assistance geven by the other shippes.[1] and Captaine Cocke him selfe did first enter this examinates shippe[2] for this examinate did receave him into the shippe & offered him his hande which he affirmeth to be most true for that this examinate was master of the said shippe called the Greate Iesus, and sawe the said Harry & Iohn first geve the assaulte and make fighte with this examinate, and to the same shipp & the Captaine and company

[1] Cp. pp. 660–1 above.

[2] This is not contested (p. 644 above).

thereof this ex*amina*te yealded only, not knowinge or thinkinge but that the other two shippes were prizes to the Harry & Iohn.'

(*b*) Francisco Gomez. 'To the v^th^ he affirmeth by chardge of his oath that on the v^th^ of Iuly 1590 this ex*amina*te and his company of the Good Iesus of Civill came from S^t^ Domingo in company of xj other spanishe shippes bound for Civill and the xiij^th^ daye after nere Cape Taboroune they escried viij shippes which they feared to be englishe shippes of warre and in the eveninge followinge this ex*amina*te & company in the good Iesus forsooke the reste of the fleete takinge an other course with intente to escape; and aboute midnighte they sawe thre shippes followinge them which continued in chase all the nighte:[1] and in the morninge ensewinge the biggest shippe of the thre whereof Captaine Cocke was Captaine as afterwardes he learned did firste assaulte and first sale at the good Iesus, and this ex*amina*te & company shott at them agayne & cutt the foreshete of Captaine Cockes shippe by occasion whereof he fell a sterne and repayred his shippe & then came vppe agayne[2] & killed thre of this ex*amina*tes company Wherevppon this ex*amina*te & company yealded to Captaine Cocke, and were subdued taken and aborded by him & his shippe without eany aide or healpe geven by the other two shippes For this ex*amina*te doth not knowe that the two lesser shipps did ever fighte or assaulte the good Iesus, or were eany cause that this ex*amina*te & company yealded For this ex*amina*te did thincke that those shippes had byn prizes and the company thereof prisoners to Captaine Cocke.'

6–7. 'Item whether the possession of the said shippe called the Ihesus of Civill, & of her lading were not by the Spanniards, which were in her at her yelding, delyvered and yealded to the Captaine and companye of the Harry and Iohn onely; and whether some of the Companye of the said Harry and Iohn were not entered first on borde the said shippe called the Ihesus and had the government

[1] This concedes, at least, that there was a chase in which the *Moonlight* and *Conclude* took part.

[2] A piece of 'colour' not found elsewhere which may be true.

Rule & possession therof and of the goodes therin; before any of the Companye of the Moonelight came on borde the same shippe called the Ihesus?'[1]

(*a*) Anthonio de Samora Carenio. 'To the vj & vij[th] he deposeth most true yt ys that this ex*amina*te and his company yealded only to Captaine Cocke, and Captaine Cocke and some of his company first entered the Greate Iesus and tooke possession thereof before eany of the other shippes came on borde. And he could not perceave that eany thinge was don by the other shipps or the companyes thereof more then Captaine Cocke com*m*aunded beinge as yt seemed com*m*aunder of them all/.'

(*b*) Francisco Gomez. 'To the vj[th] & vij[th] he deposeth that most true yt ys that the possession of the good Iesus and her whole ladinge was only geven to Captaine Cocke & his company of his shipp who came on borde him selfe firste. And had the rule & possession thereof first before eany of the other two shippes came on borde of this examinates sighte & certaine knowledge beinge Purser of the said shipp the good Iesus soe taken.'

8. 'Item whether was not the force of the said shippe called the Harry and Iohn and her company in her the onely cause of the taking and subduinge of the said shippe called the Ihesus.'

(*a*) Anthonio de Samora Carenio. 'To the viij[th] he affirmeth yt ys most true the greate Iesus was taken and enforced to yealde by the only force & strength of the Harry & Iohn, beinge a greate shipp & then havinge xxij greate peeces, and the other two shippes beinge smale shippes & not havinge aboue one or two peeces a pece on borde.'[2]

(*b*) Francisco Gomez. 'To the viij[th] he deposeth yt was the only force of the shipp of Captaine Cocke & his company that caused this ex*amina*te & his company to yealde, otherwise they would never haue yealded for all the force that the other shipps could

[1] Cp. pp. 644, 654–5 above.

[2] Cp. pp. 656–62 above.

haue made beinge smale shipps and such as this ex*amina*te and company in the Iesus would little haue feared or regarded/.'

9. 'Item of what burthen was the said spanishe shippe Called the Ihesus? what great ordinaunce had she in her, and of what sorts? how many men? what small shott and other streingth? and of what burden was the said Moonelight, and of what burden was the Conclude, and how many men and what ordinaunce, and of what sortes, had eche of them in her, at such tyme as the said Spanishe shippe was taken?'

(*a*) Anthonio de Samora Carenio. 'To the ix^th^ he sayth the greate Iesus of Civill is of the burthen of thre hundreth tonnes and vpwardes & had nyne peeces of greate ordenaunce, aboute fifty men, xx muskettes and other furniture when she was taken And he taketh the two lesser shippes to be one of Lxx tonnes and the other xxx tonnes & scarce soe muche And otherwise he knoweth yt not.'

(*b*) Francisco Gomez. 'To the ix^th^ he sayth the good Iesus is of the burthen of iij C tonnes and was furnished with nyne peeces of ordenaunce, thre of brasse & six of Iron, and with aboute xxix muskettes & calivers, and aboute Lviij men,[1] and was otherwise well apparelled and strengthened with armour and shott when she was taken and of that strength that they would never have byn taken by the two lesser shipps alone beinge smale shipps and without eany nu*m*ber of ordenaunce/.'

10. 'Item whether the said Moonelight did make any fight with the said Spanishe shippe or did any way indamadge her or the Spaniardes in her, before her yealding, and yf she did shoote at all at the Spaniardes did she shote any more then one shott? and was not that shotte made after the Spaniarde had putt forthe her flagg of truce, and yealded, and whether did that shott hitt the Spanishe shippe or come nygh her?'

[1] This is confirmed so far as her ordnance was concerned by other members of her company, the figures given being 9 pieces and 30 muskets, but estimates of her complement varied from 35 to 68 (Wright, *Further English voyages*, pp. 252–3).

(*a*) Anthonio de Samora Carenio. 'To the x^th^ he sayth the two lesser shipps did not make eany fighte with with [sic] the greate Iesus, or hurte or indamidge this ex*amina*te or eany his company For that the Harry and Iohn duringe all the fighte was betwixte them & this ex*amina*tes shippe called the Iesus/.'[1]

(*b*) Francisco Gomez. 'To the x^th^ he sayth the two smaller shipps did not fighte with the Iesus or doe her eany damadge to his knowledge/.'

11. 'Item whether the said spanishe shippe would haue yealded to the Moonelight and the Conclude, or in any likelyhoode might haue bene conquered and taken by them? and whether yf the Harry and Iohn had not entred fight with the said Spanishe [shippe] called the Ihesus durst they of the Moonelight have comme neere her or ventred to haue fought with her? and whether did they make any suche fight or Attempte?'

(*a*) Anthonio de Samora Carenio. 'To the xj^th^ he deposeth that the two lesser shippes never foughte or attempted to fighte with the greate Iesus; And sayth that this ex*amina*te & his companye would never haue yealded to the two lesser shippes, nether would haue byn taken by them yf Captaine Cocke with the Harry & Iohn had byn absente—And geveth a reason thereof for that this ex*amina*te & his company were well manned furnished & munited, And the Iesus was a stronge shippe & well appoyncted, And the two english shipps were of smale burthen and had little ordenaunce or power wherebye yt may be thoughte they possibly could not haue conquered the great Iesus.'

(*b*) Francisco Gomez. 'To the xj^th^ he sayth this ex*amina*te and company in the good Iesus were soe stronge and well munited that they could never in eany liklyhood or possibility haue byn

[1] There are sharp contradictions both about the relative positions of the three English vessels and about their parts in the fight (cp. pp. 636, 661–2). The captain of the *Buen Jesus* and her constable, however, both said that all three took part, and the latter that the *Harry and John* came in on the windward side and the other two on the leeward (Wright, *Further English voyages*, pp. 250–3).

taken or conquered by the two lesser shippes yf Captaine Cocke with his shipp had byn absente And he could not see or perceave that the two lesser shippes duringe the fighte durste come nere the Iesus but kepte them outwardes of Captaine Cocke & came not nere vntill Captaine Cocke had entered & taken the shippe/.'

12. 'Item whether after the fight beganne betweene the Harry and Iohn and the said Spanishe shippe did not Abraham Cocke the Captaine of the said Harry and Iohn or some other, Call to the Captaine and Companye of the Moonelight, and aske them why they made not vppe to the said Spanishe shippe, and will them ether to come vppe and fight, or els to gett them awaye? and whether notwithstanding they of the Moonelight did not forbeare to come nigh the said Spanishe shippe?'

'Item whether was not the Moonelight out of sight of the said Spanishe shippe at suche tyme as the said Harry and Iohn first came vppe to the said Spanishe shippe?'

(*a*) Anthonio de Samora Carenio. 'To the xij he cannot depose.'

(*b*) Francisco Gomez. 'To the xijth he knoweth yt not/.'

13. 'Item whether the said shippe called the Ihesus were not at the tyme of her takinge of Civill in Spaine, and bothe she and the goods taken in her the proper goods of subiectes or some Subiecte to the kinge of Spaine?'[1]

(*a*) Anthonio de Samora Carenio. 'To the xiijth he affirmeth the greate Iesus is of Lisbone & was there builded and belonged to Emanuell Fernandes Corea of Lishborne when she was taken, and she was laden at S^{t} Domingo with suger ginger hides, India pepper and other goodes bounde for Civill in Spaine All which goodes apperteyned to Spaniardes and portingales of Civill & Liuxborne and to this examinate & the purser & company of the shippe beinge all subiectes to the Kinge of Spaine whereof this examinate had thre Chestes of suger one hundreth and fyfty kintalls of ginger

[1] This was the formal question, an affirmative answer to which would allow the vessel and her contents to be condemned as lawful prize (cp. p. 712 below).

CCL & od hides and aboute viij kintalls of Casia fistula and parte of the guiny pepper.[1]

And sayth they had two thowsand fyve hundreth Duckettes in gould & pearle [which] was broughte on borde at S^t^ Domingo and registred whereof parte was spente at S^t^ Domingo, and the reste of the same the Captaine of this examinates shipp had, Whether yt were taken from them by Captaine Cocke & his company he knoweth not/.'[2]

[*Signed:*] Antonio de çamora Carreño[3]
Franciscus Marquino [*Interpreter.*]

(*b*) Francisco Gomez. 'To the xiij^th^ he deposeth that the good Iesus ys belonginge to Liuxborne and appertayneth to Emanuell Fernandes Corea of Liuxborne who was Captaine thereof when she was taken[4] And all the ladinge belonged to spaniardes and portingalls of Civill S^t^ Domingo and Liuxborne subiectes of the Kinge of Spaine as namly to Iohn de Vivia, Don Iohn de Villa Rey, Iohn de Viveta & many others whom he remembreth not Savinge Nicholas Fernandes and Petro Vasse Galliego of Liuxborne / And soe much of the said ladinge as came to one thowsandes Duckettes apertayned to this examinate/.

And sayth two thousand fyve hundreth Duckettes in gould & pearle was registred at S^t^ Domingo whereof some parte was spente there But what became of the reste he knoweth not/.'

[*Signed:*] Franciscus Gomez
Franciscus Marquino [*Interpreter.*]

[1] Another extraneous item, like the ivory, indicative of a triangular trade, Guinea–West Indies–Spain, as part of the slave traffic (and possibly associated with French interloping); cp. pp. 224–5, 757.

[2] On the inquiries about gold and pearls, see pp. 680–1 above. 2500 ducats was about £750 (cp. p. 220 above), but the captain of the *Buen Jesus* estimated there were 4000 ducats' worth (about £1200) of gold, silver and pearls.

[3] Rather different from the English versions.

[4] Manuel Fernández Correa, captain and owner of the *Buen Jesus*, who made a deposition after his release which is given in Wright, *Further English voyages*, pp. 249–52.

102. [JANUARY 1591.]

INTERROGATORIES FOR WILLIAM SANDERSON IN JOHN WATTS, ETC. *v.* WILLIAM SANDERSON[1]

Interrogatories[2] administered on behalf of William Sanderson against certain witnesses produced on behalf of John Watts and his partners, and examined by him on certain articles.

1. Let the peril of perjury and the penalty of false witness be explained to the witness. Then let him be asked his age, his estate or trade, where he lives or is accustomed to live, and how long he has known the litigants.

2. Whether he is related by blood or ties of friendship to the party producing him as witness and in what degree of kinship, or if he belongs to their household, wears their livery, or receives their wages?

3. Whether freely, by compulsion or on request does he come to make a testimony in this cause and at whose expense and cost?

4. What benefit does he get, or hope to get, by deposing in this cause?

5. Whether he was instructed and whether he communicated with anyone, or anyone with him, as to what or how he should depose in this cause, and if so by and with whom?

[1] P.R.O., H.C.A. 23/4, fos. 326–326 v. The English portions are given in full, the Latin in a translated abstract. The formal 'Et fiat vt supra', at the end of each question, has been omitted. The engrossing of what is clearly a not-too-polished draft on parchment is unusual. The document is discoloured and damaged at the edges, so that a few readings are in doubt.

[2] These interrogatories show clearly that we lack several stages in the process. Watts's articles were used in examination as early as 8 January, but his formal proceedings against Sanderson were initiated only on 11 January (cp. p. 710). The interrogatories were not used in cross-examination of the two Spanish witnesses on 8 January; nor have any depositions in which they were used yet been found. It is unfortunate that this is so, since the answers might have thrown much further light on the Virginia voyage and its background.

6. Which party does he favour the more, and on whose part would he wish the verdict to be given?

7. What is the value of his own property, excluding debts, and at what is he assessed in the subsidy books?

8. 'Item whether doe they knowe of any Consortshippe made betwene the saide Wil*liam* Sanderson and Iohn Wattes at the setting foorth of four [ships] to the seas by lettres of reprizall against the Spanyardes[1] viz. for the Harry and Iohn, the litle Iohn, the Iohn Evangeliste M*aster* Wattes Shippes and the Moone light being M*aster* Sandersons first Shippe, when and where was any suche consorteshippe made [to] theire knowledge beleefe or hearesay.

9. Item do yowe knowe and howe that the said Consortshippe from M*aster* Wattes and his Consortes one thone p*ar*tie and M*aster* Sanderson of thother p*ar*tie [provided?] that everie shippe sholde haue p*ar*tie and p*ar*tie like of the prizes taken by yowe, or any of yowe thoughe all the said shipps weare not in company together at one time and whether the owners shold enioye theire shares Tonne for Tonne and man for man althoughe any of the said shipps shold perishe or be loste or [haue] ani leakes or misfortunes [after] your agreement made.[2]

10. Item whether the Harry and Iohn and Litle Iohn, Iohn Evangeliste and the Moone light afforesaid were suffered to passe about theire voiage with the fornamed Wil*liam* Sanderson and his first shipp called the Moonelight without any stay or molestacion at the owners pleasures to your knowledge or not.[3]

11. Item whether was there any passe p*ro*cured for and about the proceedinges of the said vioage to Virgenia by M*aster* Sanderson

[1] The letters of reprisal issued to Watts and (possibly) Sanderson have not been seen.

[2] 'or ani eake or misfortune yaer your agreement made' appears to be the reading, but the meaning is probably as above.

[3] The sense is defective. Probably the first 'and the Moone light' is superfluous.

his meanes and whether yf that passe had not bene obteyned the said vioage had gone forewarde or not, no lycence had to go vpon the same.[1] And wheth[er] before the gettinge of that passe it was agreed betwene the owners of the said ships that the Captains and *Master*s thereof shold be bou[nd to] go and visit Virginia.

12. Item whether did yowe or any of yowe seale bond or wryttinge to *Master* Will*iam* Sanderson and Iohn Watt*es* in the som*me* of v^{m} li.[2] that yowe with your said shipps and vessels shold sayle from Virginia and there visite the men w*hi*ch be theire one lande[3] and to whose hande*s* did yowe deliuer the same.

13. Item whether did all the shipps of Watt*es* sayle away togethe*r* alone and howe manie, or did the captaines m*aster*s or any of the said shipps stay the providinge or makeing reydie of *Master* Sandersons first Shippe called the Moone light w*hi*ch was first provided for that voia[ge] and howe longe did the said captaines m*aster*s or shipps stay from the companie of the Monelight and in what place after your owne shipps [were] readie.[4]

14. Item after the dep*ar*ture of the said ships owte of the river of Thems[5] and tharrivinge of them in Plymmouthe howe longe did

[1] White's story that it was he who discovered that Watts's ships were going to the Indies but were held up owing to the stay of shipping is given above. It is not unlikely that White did set the ball rolling, though it is not certain, but the implication that it was actually Sanderson who got the conditional pass is probably correct.

[2] £3000, according to White. It is curious that, if this instrument was properly drawn and completed, it was not entered as evidence, although it is arguable that Watts may have made a composition with Sanderson which meant that it was not required (cp. pp. 580, 714).

[3] The 1587 colonists. The reading should probably be 'to Virginia'.

[4] White tells us nothing of the inclusion of the *Moonlight* in the compact. His story, therefore, of what aid was being brought to Virginia may be defective. Sanderson as a partner in the Virginia enterprise is unlikely to have sent her without some supplies on board (cp. pp. 581–2). It also appears that he was trying to get more than one ship to sea, if possible, with the *Moonlight*.

[5] White neither mentions the original place of departure as London nor indicates whether it was from there or Plymouth that the crews of Watts's ships cleared without carrying out their bargain.

the said captains masters or ships tarry and attend for the cominge of the Moonelight to Plymmouthe after your owne shipps weare readie and howe many of Master [Wattes] shipps or suche as he had parte of were yowe at your departinge out of Plymmouth and within howe many dayes after your aryvall in Plymouth did yowe departe from thence againe towardes Virginia.[1]

15. Item at your departinge owte of Plymmothe howe many shipps weare yowe in companie and howe farr sayled yowe before yowe mett with any prizes eyther Spaniard Portugales or Indysmen and when and where mett yowe any suche shipps and what shipps did yowe ouercome and where with weare they laden and with what goodes.[2]

16. Item what shippe went yowe in, which of the fower shipps afforesaid weare yowe in at the time of takeinge the grande Iesus and when and where did yowe enter her or starborde side or larbordside whether did yowe bord her with your shippe or enter with your boate.

17. Item whether was captain Spicer captane of the Mery Terlanye otherwise called the Moonlighte at the time of the said price[3] and wh[ether] that shippe so called was the first shippe which Master Sanderson made readie for that voiage or the last shippe[4] and what consortshippe was agreed vpon betwene the owners of the said seuerall shipps sett owt by master Wattes and his Companie and the said Master Saunderson for his last shippe called the Mary Terlany alias Moonelight and where and when was any such Consortshippe made and in whose presence and

[1] It would thus appear that the vessels were to go to Virginia first, but this can scarcely have been meant.

[2] For what we know of what occurred between 20 March and 2 July, see pp. 598–604 above.

[3] Edward Spicer had been drowned at Port Ferdinando the previous August (p. 612 above).

[4] The clearest indication, though not a definite one, that Sanderson hoped to have more than one ship ready for the voyage.

whether by worde or writtinge, and to what effecte.[1] What Benefitt had yowe by enteringe of her before Captaine Spycer: what iewels pearles or precious stones, what Muske Cyvett Sylke or Amber greece had yowe in your owne possession before Spycer [came] aborde or Bedforde the m*aster* of the Moonelight.[2]

18. Item did Capten Spicer and his companie ioyne with yowe in searchinge and seeking Chestes Cabbons and other places of the shippe and in [bringeing?] home the Spanyard called the grande Iesus and did the Captaine and co*m*panie of Harrie and Iohn refuse them as p*ar*tners of the ouer com[ed] Bootie and so take vpon them to victuall or man the prize themselues or by theire owne strengthe or did they let or imploy the men of the Mary Terlanye al*ia*s the Moonelight or about the the bringeing home of the said shippe and what weare theire names [and] places in the said shippe that weare so imployed and helped to bring home the said Prize.[3]

19. Item what or howe much of the said goodes victuals or munic*i*on of the ouercomed shippe tooke yowe into your shippe called the Harrie [and] Iohn, and howe muche did the captane and companie of the Moonelight, and where did yowe land or to whome did yowe deliuer the same [goodes] and where weare they landed[4] and whether the said grand Iesus was not sent home for england aswell with the men of the Moon[elight] as the Harrye and Iohn.

[1] In default of the bond and obligation, which Sanderson appears to have believed had been completed, any written or verbal agreement between the men on Watts's ships and those on the *Moonlight* could have been pleaded in evidence. That Sanderson should have made the inquiry would seem to indicate that he was not in possession of the completed bond.

[2] For Bedford's evidence, see pp. 639, 655 above.

[3] One of the weaknesses in such evidence as we have is that there is no statement from any member of the *Moonlight's* crew put on board the *Buen Jesus*. There were such men (pp. 668–9 above), but they may well have been suborned by Watts.

[4] This makes it possible that some part of the cargo of the *Buen Jesus* was in the *Hopewell* (*Harry and John*) and *Moonlight* during their call at Virginia.

20. Item howe muche plate Iewels Bullanse of golde siluer pearles, Muske Sylke Cyvett Amber or any suche like commoditie did you deliuer to M*aste*r Iohn Watt*e*s his hands or any for him and his p*ar*tners and what or howe muche thereof did he allowe yowe for your paines or what other consider*a*cion in lewe thereof.[1]

21. Item what gyfte or rewarde hathe M*aste*r Watt*e*s and his p*ar*tners geuen yowe or any of yowe ouer and aboue your [sh]ares, whether any shippe or shipps p*ar*te Barke or Vessell and howe muche of any suche p*ar*te or p*ar*tes do yowe pay for or haue promissed or vndertaken to pay for.[2]

22. Item howe longe haue yowe bene imployed by m*aste*r Watt*e*s in his shipps and goode*s* in the like vioage or vioages and whether yowe are nowe againe to be imploied by him in any other vioage and howe longe haue yowe stayed thervpon and what allowance haue yowe of him and his p*ar*tner for your stay about his like occasions.'

23. Question to be addressed to Anthonio de Samora and Francisco Gomez Aliza 'whether they be englishemen borne or strangers of what Contrie or place are they howe longe haue they bene christians or accompted themselues so. And whether are they p*ro*mised any lib*er*tie or any maintenance to theire goinge home and vpon what Condicons and by whome. Whether by m*aste*r Watt*e*s or by whome els. Yf no lib*er*tie what other recompense or maintenance duringe there abode heere in England.[3]

24. Item whether do yowe knowe or is it true that the grand Iesus after her takinge and in cominge for england mett at the

[1] For what is known, or said, about the more precious parts of the cargo, see pp. 687–92 above.

[2] The suggestion that the Watts concern had suborned some of the men to give false evidence by offers of shares in ships to be engaged in further enterprises has not been met with elsewhere.

[3] The evidence of the two Spaniards was clearly decisively in Watts's favour (pp. 695–703 above). There are not, with their answers to Watts's articles, any replies in cross-examination to these interrogatories of Sanderson's.

Ilelandes the shipp called the litle Iohn. And what ginger or other marchandizes did the captaine and companie of the Iohn receue out of the said grand Iesus and of what valewe was the goodes so by them receued and what or howe muche of the same goodes thinges or marchandizes so taken at sea out of the grande Iesus and put into the litle Iohn was conveyed out of the litle Iohn at Porthe-mouthe or at London and to whome weare they deliuered.[1]

25. Item what goodes or Marchandizes sence the takeinge of the prize called the graund Iesus or other thinges hathe bene conveyed owt of the same shippe or deliuered to any person sence she came into the river of Thems that was not lawefullie taken vp by order of the Custome Howse.'

26. Has he anything to add?

103. 11 JANUARY 1591.
JOHN WATTS, ETC.[2] *v.* WILLIAM SANDERSON[3]

John Watts and his partners begin proceedings concerning the capture of the 'Good Ihesus' and her goods, asking that Sanderson shall be summoned to appear, etc.[4]

[1] It would appear from this article that the *Little John* may have put in at Portsmouth with some of the *Buen Jesus's* cargo on board. Newport, her captain, gives no hint of this in his deposition above.

[2] Watts's partners are not named (cp. p. 625 above).

[3] Abstract, translated. P.R.O., H.C.A. 3/21. For Sanderson, see pp. 576–8 above.

[4] Watts began this action in order to aid the defence in Middleton, etc. *v.* Hallett. Sanderson's men gave evidence (cp. pp. 625–42) for the defence in this case, and the right of Sanderson's ship, the *Moonlight*, to share in the prize goods was closely bound up with that of the *Conclude*. By taking the initiative Watts expected to be able to clear away all opposing interests, as indeed he did (cp. pp. 67–70).

104. 12 JANUARY 1591.

JOHN WATTS, ETC. *v.* WILLIAM SANDERSON[1]

John Wattes appeared in the case of 'the Iessus de Civill', and produced the following witnesses for examination before their departure for sea: Anthonio de Samora Cardino,[2] Francisco Gomes,[3] Abraham Cocke, Robert Hutton, William Adames, Abraham Lofte, Lionel Valentine, Christopher Newporte, Michael Gere, Richard Knotford, Thomas Gilbert, Henry Erlinge, William Cooke, John Davys, William Thorne, William Lane, John Gale.[4]

105. 16 JANUARY 1591.

JOHN WATTS, ETC. *v.* THE CAPTURED SHIP CALLED 'THE IESUS DE CIVILL', BELONGING TO THE KING OF SPAIN[5]

Clerke junior on behalf of John Watts, etc., introduces the inventory of the *Jesus* and her goods, alleges the goods to be the property of subjects of the king of Spain, adducing the statements of Anthonio de Samora Curema and Francisco Gomez in proof, and asks for sentence to be passed. The judge forthwith gives interlocutory sentence.[6]

106. [JANUARY 1591.]

FINAL DECREE OF THE HIGH COURT OF ADMIRALTY IN FAVOUR OF JOHN WATTS[7]

The cause of John Wattes, merchant, of the city of London and his partners, late setters forth of 'the Harry and Iohn', has been

[1] Abstract, translated. P.R.O., H.C.A. 3/21.

[2] Pp. 696–703 below. [3] Ibid.

[4] The last fifteen men did not answer on behalf of Watts, so far as is known, though Cocke, Hutton, Geere and Newport had already made depositions to the articles on behalf of the Lord High Admiral (pp. 687–692 above).

[5] Abstract, translated. P.R.O., H.C.A. 3/21.

[6] Watts has now, to the satisfaction of the court, eliminated Middleton, Bagge, Glanville and Sanderson, and is formally claiming the *Jesus* as lawful prize. The sentence, signed, completes the case.

[7] Abstract, translated. P.R.O., H.C.A. 24/58, no. 71, fo. 114.

heard by us, Julius Caesar, Doctor of Laws, in the High Court of Admiralty, and he has asked for sentence to be passed. We find that the said John Wattes has sufficiently proved his contention in certain articles set before us in this cause, and that nothing effectual has been alleged by any persons with any right in these matters to refute his contention. Therefore, we decree that the ship, and the goods and merchandise in the attached schedule specified,[1] taken in the months from December 1589 to December 1590 by Abraham Cocke, captain of the Harry and John, and his fellows, on the high seas by virtue of letters of reprisal granted to John Wattes, belonged to the king of Spain or his subjects at the time of capture, and are adjudged lawful prize to the said John Wattes and his partners.[2]

[*Signed:*] Iul*ius* Caesar

107. 4 FEBRUARY 1593.
JOHN WHITE TO RICHARD HAKLUYT[3]

To the Worshipful and my very friend Master Richard Hakluyt, much happinesse in the Lord.

Sir, as well for the satisfying of your earnest request, as the performance of my promise made vnto you at my last being with you in England,[4] I haue sent you (although in a homely stile, especially for the contentation of a delicate eare) the true discourse of my last voyage into the West Indies, and partes of America called Virginia, taken in hand about the end of Februarie, in the

[1] The inventory of 20 December 1590 (above, pp. 692–5).

[2] The *Conclude* was summarily excluded from participation in the prize. It is probable that the *Moonlight* was also, but we have not got Watts's case in detail against Sanderson (cp. pp. 69–70, 597 above), and it is not improbable that Watts bought out Sanderson's interest to clear him from the case. There is no positive evidence for this, however.

[3] Hakluyt, *Principal navigations*, III (1600), 287–8, enclosing the narrative of the 1590 voyage (pp. 598–622 above).

[4] This probably implies that White travelled between Ireland and England several times between 1590 and 1593, but we have no indication of when his last meeting with Hakluyt took place.

yeere of our redemption 1590.[1] And what euents happened vnto vs in this our iourney, you shall plainely perceiue by the sequele of my discourse. There were at the time aforesaid three ships absolutely determined to goe for the West Indies,[2] at the speciall charges of *Master* Iohn Wattes of London Marchant. But when they were fully furnished, and in readinesse to make their departure,[3] a generall stay was commanded of all ships thorowout England.[4] Which so soone as I heard, I presently (as I thought it most requisite) acquainted Sir Walter Ralegh therewith,[5] desiring him that as I had sundry times afore bene chargeable and troublesome vnto him, for the supplies and reliefes of the planters in Virginia:[6] so likewise, that by his endeuour it would please him at that instant to procure license for those three ships to proceede on with their determined voyage, that thereby the people in Virginia (if it were Gods pleasure) might speedily be comforted and relieued without further charges vnto him. Whereupon he by his good meanes obtained license of the Queenes Maiestie,[7] and

[1] 1589 English style. Hakluyt did not usually alter dates in the body of his texts, and, in spite of his own later preference for beginning the year on 1 January, the choice here is probably White's, which makes it highly probable that the letter should, similarly, be dated 4 February 1593, not 4 February 1593–4 (cp. pp. 598–9 above).

[2] The *Hopewell*, *Little John*, and *John Evangelist* (see above, p. 380).

[3] Their preparation took place in the Thames, and must have been complete by the end of January 1590 (ibid).

[4] The 'restraint and staye' of all shipping was the result of instructions from the privy council on 1 February 1590 (*Acts of the privy council, 1589–90*, pp. 341–2; see Cheyney, *History of England, 1588–1603*, I, 529–30).

[5] This probably places White in London early in February 1590, but Raleigh's whereabouts have not been ascertained. His letter of 29 December 1589 to Sir George Carew, referring to his 'retrait from the Court', was certainly written after his return from Ireland and possibly from London (see Edwards, *Ralegh*, II, 41–3).

[6] This probably means that White had accumulated under the auspices of the partners in the 1589 deed a sufficient quantity of stores (as well as some additional settlers) to assure the colonists, if surviving, of some relief.

[7] No such licence has been traced in the privy council registers (cp. the release for the *Jonas* of Danzig, 15 February, *A.P.C., 1589–90*, p. 366), among the signet docquets (Ind. 6800), or in the records of the High Court of Admiralty. William Sanderson's claim that he was responsible for obtaining the pass (above, pp. 705–6) is not irreconcilable with White's story of his approach to Raleigh, since

order to be taken, that the owner of the 3 ships should be bound vnto Sir Walter Ralegh or his assignes, in 3000 pounds,[1] that those 3 ships in consideration of their releasement should take in, & transport a conuenient number of passengers, with their furnitures and necessaries to be landed in Virginia. Neuerthelesse that order was not obserued, neither was the bond taken according to the intention aforesaid.[2] But rather in contempt of the aforesaid order, I was by the owner and Commanders of the ships denied to haue any passengers, or any thing els transported in any of the said ships, sauing only my selfe & my chest; no not so much as a boy to attend vpo*n* me, although I made great sute, & earnest intreatie aswell to the chiefe Commanders, as to the owner of the said ships. Which crosse and vnkind dealing, although it very much discontented me, notwithstanding the scarsity of time was such, that I could have no opportunity to go vnto Sir Walter Ralegh with complaint, for the ships being then all in readinesse to goe to the Sea, would haue bene departed before I could haue made my returne.[3] Thus both Gouernors, Masters, and sailers, regarding very smally the good of their countreymen in Virginia; determined nothing lesse[4] then to touch at those places, but wholly disposed themselues to

Sanderson was Raleigh's man of business and probably undertook the negotiation on his behalf. But Sanderson implies clearly that the licence was granted to him and to John Watts. It may be noted that there is no evidence that Raleigh was a partner in Watts's 1590 syndicate.

[1] Sanderson (p. 706 above) gives the sum as £5000 and implies that the captains and masters of the ships were parties to the bond.

[2] Sanderson implies (p. 708 above) that it was executed. It has not been found entered in the close rolls of 32 Elizabeth. White says nothing of the additional obligation to accept the consortship of the *Moonlight*, Sanderson's own ship, though he admits that they left her behind in England (p. 605 above).

[3] Did this happen on the Thames towards the end of February, or at Plymouth during March? The vessels were certainly in a hurry to leave as Sanderson implied they deserted the *Moonlight* (p. 707 above). If Watts was present, London seems the more likely, but if so it might appear that Raleigh was not in London at the time.

[4] For 'nothing more'? The prominence which the sailors gave to White in their talks with the Spaniards and their frequent references to the intended relief of the colony (Wright, *Further English voyages*, pp. 253–4, 256; pp. 587–8 above; and p. 799 below) do not suggest, whatever the element of bluff involved, that they considered the Virginia visit of no importance.

seeke after purchase & spoiles, spending so much time therein, that sommer was spent before we arriued at Virginia.[1] And when we were come thither, the season was so vnfit, & weather so foule, that we were constrained of force to forsake that coast, hauing not seene any of our planters, with losse of one of our ship-boates, and 7 of our chiefest men: and also with losse of 3 of our ankers and cables, and most of our caskes with fresh water left on shore, not possible to be had aboord.[2] Which euils & vnfortunate euents (as wel to their owne losse as to the hinderance of the planters in Virginia) had not chanced, if the order set downe by Sir Walter Ralegh had bene obserued, or if my dayly & continuall petitions for the performance of the same might haue taken any place.[3] Thus may you plainely perceiue the successe of my fift & last voiage to Virginia,[4] which was no lesse vnfortunately ended then frowardly begun, and as lucklesse to many, as sinister to my selfe. But I would to God it had bene as prosperous to all, as noysome to the planters; & as ioyfull to me, as discomfortable to them. Yet seeing it is not my first crossed voyage,[5] I remaine contented. And wanting my wishes, I leaue off from prosecuting that whereunto I would to God my wealth were answerable to my will.[6] Thus

[1] Although the vessels were late in turning to Virginia it would have been too much to expect them to leave the West Indies before trying to pick off some stragglers from the homeward-bound fleets.

[2] White does admit, therefore, that the sailors did all that they could in the circumstances.

[3] But the *Moonlight*, being Sanderson's ship, and possibly having some supplies for the colonists when she left in May, made no move to get ahead of Watts's ships, and it is unlikely that the instructions, whether written by Raleigh or Sanderson, specified too particularly when the vessels must leave the Caribbean. White's persistence may have hindered rather than helped (cp. the 1587 voyage, pp. 500–4 above).

[4] This suggests that the headings to White's narratives do not originate from Hakluyt; on the basis of our present knowledge (unless Hakluyt altered his text), White is a sound authority for his having been on the 1584 voyage as well as those of 1585–6, 1587, 1588, and 1590.

[5] The other being that of 1588 (pp. 562–9 above).

[6] The implications are that White had got all the money that the London syndicate, or Raleigh, would supply for the Virginia venture and had eaten into his own resources as far as he considered possible.

committing the reliefe of my discomfortable company the planters in Virginia, to the merciful help of the Almighty, whom I most humbly beseech to helpe & comfort them, according to his most holy will & their good desire, I take my leaue from my house at Newtowne in Kylmore[1] the 4 of February, 1593.[2]

Your most welwishing friend,

Iohn White.

[1] This can be identified with reasonable certainty as Newtown in the Barony of Orrery and Kilmore, co. Cork. Newtown appears in Sir William Petty (Barony Maps (Ordnance Survey, 1908), sheet 98; and *Hiberniae delineatio* (1683), map 21). Newtown is about four miles east-south-east of Charleville, co. Cork.

[2] Apparently not 4 February 1593–4 (p. 713). This is the last trace so far found of White.

CHAPTER XI

SPAIN AND THE ROANOKE VOYAGES, 1584–8

...the barbarous foreigners who spread themselves over the earth in search of rich and fertile lands where they can settle. It is greatly to be feared that so long as the Queen is alive they may extend still further the plundering of the Indies.

JUNTA DE CONTADURÍA MAYOR TO PHILIP II[1]

...we are chiefely to consider, the industry, and trauailes of the Spanyarde, their exceeding charge in furnishing so many shippes, for this intended expedition, their continuall supplyes to further their attemptes, and their actiue and vndaunted spirites, in executing matters of that qualitie, and difficultie, and lastly their constant resolution of Plantation. All which, may bee exemplary vnto vs, to performe the like in our Virginea, which being once throughly planted, and inhabited with our people, may returne a greate benefitte to our Nation in another kinde, as the Indies doe vnto the Spaniard: for although it yeeld not golde, yet is it a fruitfull pleasant countrey, replenished with all good thinges necessary for the life of man, if they be industrious, who inhabit it.

MICHAEL LOK[2]

NARRATIVE

The Spanish reactions to the English attempts to establish settlements on Roanoke Island can now be traced in much more detail than was formerly possible. Here only a brief outline can be given of a complex story in which there are still some gaps and uncertainties.[3]

It must be appreciated that the Spanish posts in Florida were established primarily to deny the coast of eastern North America to any other nation,[4] and not from any pressing need or desire on

[1] 24 August/3 September 1586. Translated from transcript in Brit. Mus., Additional MS 36315, fo. 92 (from A.G.I. 140. 7. 35).

[2] Preface to Peter Martyr, *The historie of the West Indies*, translated into English by M. Lok (1612).

[3] Documents nos. 109–60 below, with D. B. Quinn, 'Some Spanish reactions to Elizabethan colonial enterprises', in *Trans. R.Hist.S.*, 5th ser., 1 (1951), 1–23, which is substantially complemented by Miss Wright's *Further English voyages*.

[4] Cp. p. 299 above.

the part of Spain.[1] From the destruction of the French colony in 1565 down to 1584 there had been constant alarms of fresh French (and a few English) attempts to supplant or destroy San Agustín and its outposts. Spanish alarms stemmed not only from her general claim to a monopoly of the American continent but also more specifically from the desire to prevent foreigners establishing bases for attacks on the plate-fleets which ran through the Florida Channel with the Gulf Stream up the American coast to about 36° on their way to Europe during the summer, bases which, as the English attacks mounted from 1584 on, might also be used to extend the onslaught of their privateers on the Indies by providing them with means of obtaining water and food and of repairing their vessels, so as to refit them for further raids which were necessarily limited in duration when based on England.

Bernardino de Mendoza, Spanish ambassador in England until his expulsion in January 1584, was soon installed as ambassador in Paris, and did his best to secure news from his agents in England on English maritime enterprises, but he was often late or inaccurate with his reports.[2] Álvaro de Bazán, marquis of Santa Cruz, head of the Spanish armed forces, had his own intelligence service which produced more accurate information, though it was limited in quantity.[3] But more often Spain had to rely on reports picked up in the Atlantic or West Indian islands where the English vessels went for supplies or plunder or on news brought by men who had been prisoners in English hands. Such information was usually late in arriving, and Spain was consequently slow, on occasion, in taking action, so that the story of her efforts to trace the Roanoke colony is the story of a game of hide-and-seek.

It may be noted that while the Spaniards controlled the North American coast only from a little south of San Agustín to Santa

[1] Though the salvaging of wrecked treasure-ships and the rescuing of their crews did provide some incentive to establish a permanent foothold there.

[2] His despatches are calendared in *Cal. S.P. Spain*, and given, in extracts from the originals at Simancas, below.

[3] See pp. 753–4 below.

Elena they had learnt, especially from the expedition of Pedro Menéndez de Avilés to Chesapeake Bay in 1572, a good deal about the coast further north. To them there appeared to be only two danger areas where foreign bases were likely to be established: (1) on the coast immediately north of Santa Elena, particularly on Winyah Bay, and (2) on Chesapeake Bay—known to them as the Bay of Santa Maria (or Madre de Dios). The choice of Roanoke Island, behind the dangerous and shoal-infested Carolina Outer Banks, was an excellent one for the purpose of evading Spanish attentions, even though the absence of an adequate harbour destroyed its value as a base for English shipping.

Though Raleigh's preparation of ships early in 1584 was known to the Spaniards by reports from Paris,[1] there is no evidence that his objectives were known in Spain or that Mendoza learnt anything about the voyage of Amadas and Barlowe. The able governor of Florida, Pedro Menéndez Marqués, may, however, have picked up some news or rumours of the English activities on the coast, as by the end of the year he had sent a representative to Madrid to demand reinforcements in view of fresh threats of foreign intervention. This was considered by the *Junta de Puerto Rico*, a branch of the Council of the Indies set up to deal with foreign raids on the Indies, and in January 1585 it was decided to send a frigate to Florida with reinforcements, and to carry out a reconnaissance of the coast.[2] Soon after this, Mendoza's reports of the preparations for the second voyage began to come in, though he still thought it was intended for Norumbega, Gilbert's old objective.[3] He was late with his report of Grenville's sailing[4] and reported, incorrectly, that he had put back to port,[5] but Santa Cruz's information that he had gone was more reliable.[6] King Philip, much later, preferred to believe Mendoza's version.[7]

[1] Documents nos. 108–9. Cp. pp. 725–6 below.
[2] Document no. 110, pp. 726–7 below.
[3] Pp. 728–9 below.
[4] Document no. 116, p. 731 below.
[5] Document no. 118, p. 732 below.
[6] Wright, *Further English voyages*, p. xxii, n. 3.
[7] Document no. 122, p. 743 below.

Sir Richard Grenville's arrival at Puerto Rico in May led to a spate of reports from Spanish officials in the West Indies to Spain.[1] At first it was feared that his fortified camp on Tallaboa Bay was the first step in an English plan to seize and occupy some of the Caribbean islands, but when Grenville went on to ransom some of his prisoners on Puerto Rico and traded at Isabela on Hispaniola, some composite picture of his intentions began to emerge in the minds of the Spanish officials. They noted his purchase of livestock and his collection of roots for planting, White's sketching of plants, and the presence of the Indians, Manteo and Wanchese, while they found he made no secret of his intention to establish a colony. His prisoners, however, found his men irritatingly vague as to where it was to be. Some said Trinidad, Dominica or some other territory inside their sphere which the Spaniards had neglected to hold,[2] though later a report from Santo Domingo mentioned that they had indicated their objective as 'to settle on the Florida coast up towards the Newfoundland'.[3]

Pedro Menéndez Marqués had reached Havana on his way home from Florida on leave when Grenville arrived at Puerto Rico. Considering that it was possible that Grenville's objective was Florida, he thought it wise to return to San Agustín.[4] From there he had sent word back to Havana by 14/24 October that 'certain Indians saw them pass along the coast'.[5] In December he sent a vessel with forty men from San Agustín, including a French prisoner, along the coast to reconnoitre. It apparently searched only those bays north of Santa Elena which French vessels had previously used[6] and does not appear to have gone beyond Winyah Bay, leaving the Roanoke colony, some 300 miles further north, still undiscovered.

[1] Cp. pp. 733–43 below.
[2] P. 741 below.
[3] Wright, *Further English voyages*, p. 16.
[4] Document no. 119, p. 736 below.
[5] Wright, *Further English voyages*, p. xxii, n. 3.
[6] Drake's informant was the Frenchman, Nicholas Burgoignon, who had been a captive at San Agustín, and who may have been sent with the ship to give indications of likely hiding-places known to him.

In Spain reactions to the news of Grenville's venture were complicated and in part overlaid by the sudden change in the tempo of the English sea-war. The issue of unlimited letters of reprisal against Spain in the months from July onwards was letting loose a 'swarm of English privateers.[1] Drake appeared with a fleet off Vigo in September and after a raid on shore disappeared for an unknown destination. Within a month Santa Cruz was sketching out his plans for an Armada against England, and soon after the decision was taken to prepare it in two parts, the one to track down and destroy Drake on the high seas, the other to attack the English menace at its source. Though the fleet was never sent against Drake, energetic measures were taken to provide the outgoing fleet in 1586 with an adequate protecting squadron, six galleys were posted to the West Indian stations, and packet-boats were sent to all the vulnerable ports on the Caribbean, and to Florida, bearing warnings that Drake might descend on them.[2]

These preparations were not unrelated to the reports received on the English North American settlement. About 18 November one of Grenville's prisoners on the *Santa Maria* had, in the Azores, provided credible information that there had been left 'about 300 men with orders to begin to fortify for a settlement' and that Grenville intended to return immediately with reinforcements,[3] while Santa Cruz by the following April believed that Grenville had left not only 500 men but five ships in America.[4] In November the *Junta de Puerto Rico* was already discussing what aid should be sent to Florida in view of such reports, and on 14/24 December it was decided to despatch two vessels with reinforcements, one of

[1] Cp. pp. 743–8 below.

[2] Cp. pp. 303, 748; Hakluyt, *Principal navigations* (1904), x 88–97; Joan de Castellanos, *Discurso de el Capitán Francisco Draque*, ed. A. G. Palencia (1921), pp. lxxvii–xc, 308, 360–1; *Coll. doc. inéditos de Indias*, 2nd ser., XIV, 59–60, 292; Fernández Duro, *Armada invencible*, I, 330–3; *Armada Española*, II, 482; Altolaguirre y Duvale, *Álvaro de Bazán*, pp. 136, 478–87; Merriman, *Rise of the Spanish empire*, IV, 519.

[3] Wright, *Further English voyages*, p. 15.

[4] Document no. 131, p. 753 below.

them a strong frigate.[1] These did not leave, however, until the end of May, and reached San Agustín only on 9/19 July 1586.[2] By 9/19 April Santa Cruz was aware that Grenville was again ready to depart for America,[3] and it was natural that the Spaniards both in Spain and in the Indies should regard the English colony in North America as closely linked with Drake's raid on the Indies and likely to be used as a base for further attacks.

Throughout Drake's progress through the West Indies in the early months of 1586 the Spaniards had been puzzled by Drake's removal of Moorish galley-slaves and negro predial slaves from Santo Domingo and Cartagena.[4] When he sheered off from his threatened attack on Havana, it was at first believed he had gone to Newfoundland,[5] but an astute civilian, Alonso Suarez de Toledo, surmised that he had gone to Santa Maria Bay (Chesapeake Bay) where 'it is believed that they have an establishment'[6]—the first clear indication that the Spaniards had some views on where the English had settled. On 30 June/10 July news of Drake's destruction of San Agustín a month before reached Havana and set loose a flood of speculation about the probable fate of Santa Elena. Further information suggested that his negro passengers (and possibly the Moors as well) were to be used, along with certain of the spoil he took with him, to strengthen the English settlement further north to serve as a base from which he could overrun all the Indies and attack the fleets,[7] though Suarez expressed the view that the Florida colony was well lost, and that on such 'an inhospitable coast' the English would not fare well: 'The land itself would wage war against them! To say that they can maintain a base there from which to damage the fleets is idle talk.'[8] Pedro Menéndez Marqués's own report of 17/27 July, which reached Spain after a daring run by Captain Vicente González in a caravel at the begin-

[1] Documents nos. 124–8, pp. 744–52 below.
[2] Wright, *Further English voyages*, pp. 203, 205–6.
[3] Document no. 131, p. 753 below.
[4] Cp. pp. 251–2 above.
[5] Wright, *Further English voyages*, p. 169.
[6] Wright, *Further English voyages*, p. 172.
[7] Cp. pp. 251–2 above.
[8] Wright, *Further English voyages*, p. 187.

ning of September[1], brought news that Santa Elena had been spared, though there was disquieting news of Drake's friendliness with the Indians north of that post, and a distinct fear he would return the following year.[2]

Aid was rushed to San Agustín from Havana and the relief ships came in, opportunely, from Spain, so that Menéndez Marqués was soon rebuilding his fort and restoring San Agustín.[3] Little had been heard in Spain or in the Indies of Grenville's second expedition. An account of preparations for it at Plymouth had reached Philip II from a German captain by July and was sent to Mendoza in Paris for his comments.[4] He was scornful about the twenty-eight ships which Grenville was supposed to have had ready,[5] but a week later, on 13/23 August, he forwarded news he had heard from England that Grenville with seven ships had been taken by five Spanish vessels. This, rightly, the king did not believe.[6] In fact his call at Porto Santo (Madeira) and his voyage direct to North America had left the Spaniards without trace of him. An Indian report that in August eight ships had appeared off Santa Elena, three small vessels of which had sounded the bar there and then made off, which Menéndez Marqués included in his letter of 30 August/10 September,[7] may represent some move by Grenville of which we know nothing.

On receipt of the letters which indicated that Drake had gone on to reinforce the English colony on the mainland after his raid on San Agustín, instructions were sent from Spain that every effort should be made to track down the site of the colony. By 22 March/1 April 1587 the most that the Havana authorities could gather from Menéndez Marqués and from Gutierre de Miranda, who was in charge of Santa Elena, was that '150 leagues beyond Santa Elena, in Jacan, there was a settlement of the English', but that Menéndez

[1] Wright, *Further English voyages*, pp. 190–1, 206–7, 211, 219.
[2] Cp. p. 767 below; Wright, *Further English voyages*, p. lxx, n. 2.
[3] Document no. 132, pp. 754–6 below.
[4] Document no. 133, pp. 756–7 below. [5] Document no. 134, pp. 757–60 below.
[6] Document no. 135, p. 760 below.
[7] Wright, *Further English voyages*, p. 203; cp. pp. 468–9 above.

Marqués lacked a suitable vessel with which to make a reconnaissance.[1] On 2/12 May a frigate reached San Agustín from Spain ordering him to make a search, so in this vessel, with two launches, he set out on 7/17 May. 'I coasted', he says, 'to latitude 37° degrees, very near Jacan, which is Santa Maria bay.... Along all the shore that I coasted there is no knowledge of any corsair.' At the entrance to Chesapeake Bay he was blown south by a storm, lost a launch on the Bahamas, and reached Havana on 19/29 June. In his report, made three days later, he proposed to leave further search until the end of May 1588 when he proposed to go all the way up the coast to the isle of San Juan 'in order that once for all we may learn its secret',[2] and then come home to Spain to report.

In Spain rumours were current in March 1587 that the English had seized the approaches to the Florida channel,[3] and this or some report that Drake had brought home one group of English colonists and that Grenville had replaced them by another, lay behind Philip II's instructions on 16/26 May to the *Junta de Puerto Rico* to consider whether news that 'the English viscount' had changed the site of his settlement might mean that, far from abandoning it, he had rather attempted 'to improve his position'.[4] Or, it may be that the rumour had something to do with White's intention to establish the third colony on Chesapeake Bay rather than on Roanoke Island. Little news came to Spain of White's progress through the West Indies between his sighting Dominica on 9/19 June and his clearing from the Bahamas for Virginia on 27 June/7 July. It may be that Sir George Carey's vessels supplied some information on English intentions.[5] The report in December[6] that the king had plans, made by Bautista Antoneli, for three or four new forts in Florida, might suggest, in view of the extensive plans which that engineer had in hand for the fortification of the

[1] Wright, *Further English voyages*, pp. 230–3.
[2] Wright, *Further English voyages*, pp. 232–3; document no. 154, p. 803 below.
[3] Document no. 141, p. 768 below. [4] Document no. 142, pp. 768–9 below.
[5] Cp. pp. 781–4 below; Wright, *Further English voyages*, pp. 231–2.
[6] Document no. 144, pp. 770–1 below.

Indies against further English attacks, that it was intended, after the destruction of the English settlement, to extend the Spanish hold on the North American coast.

For four years Spanish spies in England, diplomatists in France, and officials in the Spanish colonies had endeavoured to keep track of English privateering activities in general and of any and every report that Englishmen intended settlements on the coast of North America or elsewhere. Gradually they became convinced that the threat to the Indies which a well-established base on the American coast could offer was a serious one, and by the end of 1587 Spain was ready to embark on a concerted attempt to eliminate whatever settlements the English had in this region. Gradually, information on the possible location of the colony was pieced together: by 1588 there were prospects of decisive action—just when the English sponsors of the Roanoke voyages were running into their most serious difficulties.

108. $\frac{2}{12}$ APRIL 1584.

INFORMATION FROM ENGLAND[1]

Information from England sent by the correspondent left there by Don Bernardino de Mendoza.[2] 12 April 1584.

The ships which were being equipped for the Indies are stopped for want of money,[3] and only Raleigh's little vessel[4] and four

[1] Apparently forwarded to Madrid by the Spanish ambassador in Paris, Juan Bautista de Tassis. Extract, translated. Simancas, Estado, K. 1563, no. 1–21 (calendared in *Cal. S.P. Spain, 1580–6*, p. 520).

[2] Expelled from England in January 1584, he took over as ambassador in France at the beginning of 1585.

[3] Bautista de Tassis later forwarded intelligence received from 'Juan Utison', who left London on 10/20 March, that three ships were being equipped in London at the Queen's expense for Drake to take to the straits of Magellan and would sail early in May (Simancas, Estado, K. 1448, no. 1–20; *Cal. S.P. Spain, 1580–6*, p. 520).

[4] The text reads 'no va sino el serenísimo del Rabí y el hijo de Valsinghen con cuatro navios'. The calendar translates it as 'and only Raleigh and Walsingham's son are going with four ships'. This may be correct, but unless 'serenísimo' is sarcastic it is a strange title for Raleigh at this time, while 'serení' was a small boat, of which 'serénisimo' might be a variant.

belonging to Walsingham's son[1] are going. They are well fitted out, though small, the largest being of 280 tons. Hawkins' brother is also very secretly preparing to leave shortly.[2]

109. $\frac{8}{18}$ APRIL 1584.

JUAN BAUTISTA DE TASSIS TO PHILIP II[3]

The correspondent whom Don Bernardino left for me in England reports that the ships for the Indies are being fitted out with all haste. He says nothing further. I, myself, have heard nothing about these particular vessels, but I have only learnt that some private persons are fitting out ships for Newfoundland. I do not know if he means the same ones. But Don Bernardino will be able to judge whether this may be so. . . . Paris, 18 April 1584.

[*Minute by Philip II:*] It will be well to get news about this from Don Bernardino, and pass on the information, when verified, to the proper quarter.

110. $\frac{15}{25}$ JANUARY 1585.

COUNCIL OF THE INDIES TO PHILIP II[4]

Sacred Catholic royal majesty:—Captain Joan de Posada[5] who came from Florida for help for the forts there (your majesty having been consulted about this matter and having ordered aid to be

[1] Christopher Carleill was Walsingham's step-son. For what is known of his voyage (which took him no further than Ireland) see Quinn, *Gilbert*, I, 94–5.

[2] Nothing further is known of preparations by William Hawkins for a voyage at this time (cp. Williamson, *Hawkins of Plymouth*, pp. 224–5).

[3] Deciphered. Extracts, translated. Simancas, Estado, K. 1563, no. 1–21 (calendared in *Cal. S.P. Spain, 1580–6*, p. 521).

[4] Translated. Seville, A.G.I. 147. 5. 15 (Indiferente General, Junta de Guerra, Consultas originales, años 1586 á 1603); copy in Library of Congress, Transcripts, A.G.I., General Series.

[5] Juan de Posada was a member of the Florida garrison and brother-in-law of the governor, Pedro Menéndez Marqués (cp. p. 813 below). He had come to Spain with, or just after, Rodrigo de Junco towards the end of 1584 (pp. 745–8 below) to urge increased aid for Florida.

sent) has laid before the council a proposal that, as there is no news of what has happened in those provinces and forts, or whether the privateers have established a settlement there,[1] or what else has taken place, it would be well to order the fleet,[2] when it reaches Dominica, to despatch a frigate round all the islands to make a reconnaissance and to find out the state of the said forts and what there is on that coast, and to arrange for the frigate to take, in addition to the new settlers necessary,[3] up to fifty soldiers as reinforcements for the forts. After the frigate has disembarked these people it should return to Havana to await there the arrival of the *armada* and *flota* from New Spain, so as to be able, according to the information received, to decide on the best course to take.[4] He [Captain Joan de Posada], himself, offered to make the voyage, and to take the reinforcements to the forts. After the plan had been considered by the council and approved—since the captain is known to be a good soldier, experienced, moreover, in navigating these seas—we agreed to make a report on the matter to your majesty who will give the orders and arrange for the steps to be taken which may please your majesty. Madrid, 25 January 1585. [*Eight signatures.*]

[*Minute in the margin by Philip II:*] This seems a good plan to me which it will be well to carry out, looking to the instructions necessary to ensure success. [*Signature.*]

[1] 'si los corrsarios han poblado alli'. This may well be a reaction to the Amadas-Barlowe expedition but there is no corroboration that the Spaniards knew, at this time, of its achievements. Otherwise it probably refers to a real or anticipated French raid (cp. Quinn, 'Some Spanish reactions to Elizabethan colonial enterprises', in *Trans. R. Hist. S.*, 5th ser., I, 8).

[2] The outgoing fleet (*flota*) from Spain, sailing normally from Cadiz in April for the Gulf of Mexico, and taking with it the ships for Honduras and the Caribbean Islands (cp. Haring, *Spanish empire*, p. 325; Merriman, *Rise of the Spanish empire*, IV, 209–11).

[3] 'demas de la gente necessaria'.

[4] The fleet from Mexico which, with the *galeones* returning from the Isthmus, normally assembled at Havana between March and June for the homeward voyage to Spain. Posada was being optimistic if he hoped to catch the 1585 fleets. Otherwise, he would have to wait until the summer of 1586 to carry out his programme.

111. $\frac{12}{22}$ FEBRUARY 1585.

BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA TO PHILIP II[1]

The queen has knighted Rale[2] her favourite, and has given him one of her own ships,[3] of 180 tons, with five guns on each side of the ship, and two demi-culverins in the bows. Rale has also bought two Dutch fly-boats,[4] of 120 tons each, to carry stores, and two barks of 40[5] tons each. In addition, he was having built 4 new pinnaces of 20 to 30 tons[6] each, so that, in all, Rale was fitting out no less than sixteen vessels, in which he intends to carry 400 men.[7] He has the queen's assurance that even if he should not go himself, she would pay the cost which he has incurred.[8] She has given the same assurance to Drake, in whose company Rale will go to Forbugel.[9] And Drake will take a patent for the voyage he is to make, the queen having delivered £20,000 to him to make ready his ships, of which he has twenty-four large vessels and twenty pinnaces fitting out in London, the west, and elsewhere, which are being prepared more slowly than those of the courtier Rale.[10] These will be ready to sail at the beginning of next month for

[1] Deciphered. Extracts, translated. Simancas, Estado, K. 1563, no. 22–52 (*Cal. S.P. Spain, 1580–6*, p. 532).

[2] On 6 January 1585 (above, p. 145).

[3] The *Tiger*, for which see pp. 178–9 above.

[4] One of them was probably the *Roebuck* which sailed with Grenville. The other may possibly have been the *Lion*.

[5] One was probably the *Dorothy* (see p. 179 above).

[6] Two pinnaces were taken by Grenville.

[7] The total figure for ships, even allowing for those which were to have followed Grenville, is probably too high, but the number of men is a reasonable estimate (cp. pp. 171–4, 178 above).

[8] 'haviendole assegurada la reyna que quando no partiessen ella le pagaría la costa que huviesse hecho'. The calendar translates this: 'The Queen has assured him that if he does not sail himself she will defray all the costs of the preparations', which implies that she would not pay if he did go. On the queen's participation in the enterprise see p. 120 above.

[9] 'en cuya compañia yrá a Forbugel' is omitted in the calendar. The place cannot be identified, but it may well be a misreading for Portugal.

[10] 'que los de Rale Ingalaterra'. The last word does not make sense but it could be a misreading for 'el galanteadór'.

Noranberga,[1] while Drake will carry 2000 men with which he hopes to go to meet your majesty's fleets before they join at Havana.[2] If he does not succeed he will sail for Nombre de Dios, and he is confident of making the voyage from England in forty days. If the king of France takes the rebels in the Low Countries under his protection, it is thought also that some of the ships which English merchants are now equipping to go to Newfoundland[3] might be taken directly to meet your majesty's fleets wherever they may find them. The queen has likewise ordered her ships which were without masts to be made ready.... Paris, 22 February 1585.

112. $\frac{28 \text{ FEBRUARY}}{4 \text{ MARCH}}$ 1585.

BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA TO PHILIP II[4]

To the ships which Rale is fitting out so much haste is not being given in the preparations as before.... Paris. 4 March 1585.

113. $\frac{5}{15}$ MARCH 1585.

BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA TO PHILIP II[5]

I am advised by letters of the twenty-sixth of last month[6] from London that the ships which Rale was fitting out there were going down the river to join with those in the west,[7] and that

[1] This indicates that Mendoza still believed Raleigh intended to carry on with Gilbert's plan for a northern (Norumbega) settlement (see pp. 3–6, 718–19 above).

[2] I.e. before the junction of the Mainland and New Spain fleets at Havana on their way home.

[3] Certain vessels were being prepared by Sir John Gilbert and others (see Quinn, *Gilbert*, I, 94–5).

[4] Deciphered. Extract, translated. Simancas, Estado, K. 1563, no. 22–52 (*Cal. S.P. Spain, 1580–6*, p. 533).

[5] Deciphered. Extract, translated. Simancas, Estado, K. 1563, no. 22–52 (*Cal. S.P. Spain, 1580–6*, p. 534).

[6] Letters dated from London would probably be 26 February, Old Style, i.e. 8 March, New Style.

[7] Little is known of preparations in the west, but Grenville was busy at Bideford (Rowse, *Grenville*, pp. 192, 203).

Drake was proceeding very leisurely with his preparations.... Paris. 15 March 1585.

114. $\frac{\text{26 MARCH}}{\text{5 APRIL}}$ 1585.

BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA TO PHILIP II[1]

Rale's ships, as I wrote to your majesty, have gone down the river to join the others at Plymouth, where Pedro de Çubiaur,[2] who, as I wrote to your majesty, I arranged should stay in England to send me news of that realm, writes to me that he has sent a person to report the number of the ships and men, and the quantity of stores.[3]

Drake is slackening greatly in his preparations. It is now rumoured that he will go, not in the queen's name, but in Don Antonio's....Paris. 5 April 1585.

115. $\frac{8}{18}$ APRIL 1585.

BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA TO PHILIP II[4]

At Plymouth of Rale's squadron five ships of 150 tons and eight pinnaces[5] of about 25 tons[6] have assembled, and were getting ready to sail....Paris. 18 April 1585.

[1] Extracts, translated. Simancas, Estado, K. 1563, no. 53–80 (*Cal. S.P. Spain, 1580–6*, p. 535).

[2] On Pedro de Zubiaur see *Cal. S.P. Spain, 1580–6*, passim (and especially p. 534).

[3] No such report has yet been found.

[4] Deciphered. Extract, translated. Simancas, Estado, K. 1563, no. 53–88 (*Cal. S.P. Spain, 1580–6*, p. 536).

[5] 'fragatas'.

[6] This report is considerably exaggerated as only seven vessels sailed on 9/19 April (p. 178 above).

116. 24 APRIL / 4 MAY 1585.

BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA TO PHILIP II[1]

In the letter to your majesty of which a duplicate[2] is enclosed, I reported the departure of Rale's ships for Noronuega which has been confirmed by my confidant.[3]. . . Paris. 4 May 1585.

117. [APRIL 1585.]

INTERCEPTED LETTER FROM A SPANISH AGENT IN ENGLAND[4]

The ships belonging to Raly which set out for Norembega have been scattered in a storm. The largest of them, which is the queen's,[5] fell in with a ship going to Newfoundland. They killed the men, and so turned back to Ireland.[6] Drake is fitting out, but very slowly. They maintain here that it is otherwise with the earl of

[1] Deciphered. Extract, translated. Simancas, Estado, K. 1563, no. 53–88 (*Cal. S.P. Spain, 1580–6*, p. 536).

[2] Neither the letter, nor the duplicate, has been traced.

[3] Pedro de Zubiaur?

[4] Extracts, translated. P.R.O., S.P. Foreign, Spain, S.P. 94/2, fos. 203–4. The letter begins 'Illustrious sir' but is not addressed, signed or dated. It refers to previous letters (one of 21 March sent by an express to Dunkirk, and one of 9 April). The arrest of the Earl of Arundel, three days before, when trying to escape from the Isle of Wight, is also mentioned. The precise date of Arundel's capture has not been found, but he was at Guildford in the care of Sir George Carey on his way to the Tower on 24 April (*The lives of Philip Howard, earl of Arundel, and of Anne Dacres his wife*, ed. [Henry Granville Fitzalan-Howard, 14th] duke of Norfolk (1857), pp. 55–6). The letter mentions assistance received from Bernardino de Mendoza. It may have been sent by Pedro de Zubiaur (see p. 730 above) to a Spanish official in the Netherlands, *en route* to Mendoza.

[5] The *Tiger*. The storm was genuine enough, but nothing is known of the return of any of the vessels.

[6] 'y le mataronlos de Iusticia de hombres: y asi bolbieron a Irlandia'. There is ambiguity here. Did the Spaniards in the Newfoundlander 'kill' the Englishmen 'justly', and so force the *Tiger* to turn back? Or did the English 'execute' the Spanish crew and turn back to bring home their prize? In either case the story is likely to be without foundation, but it, or a similar one, lies behind Mendoza's report of Grenville's failure (p. 732 below).

Avon. The earl's younger brother is also ready[1] and many other special gentlemen....

The ships belonging to Rauly have all been crippled and return. I told myself before that they would never reach where they expected.

118. 22 MAY / 1 JUNE 1585.

BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA TO PHILIP II[2]

The earl of Leicester[3] has had a quarrel with Rale, the queen's new favourite. The queen has ordered her ambassador Stafford to make urgent representations to the king here to prohibit the sale of certain books translated into the French, describing the life of the queen and of the earl of Leicester,[4] and to ask him to have the translator (an Englishman) arrested.

I have further confirmation by letter[5] of the return of Rale's ships in a sorry condition. The letter refers to previous ones,[6] as was the case the last time I wrote to your majesty. This is the latest news that I have received....Paris. 1 June 1585.

[1] For the 'conde de Avon' and his 'hermano menor' there can only be suggested Lord Howard of Effingham and his brother Lord Thomas Howard. The former had recently been made Lord High Admiral, but there is no indication elsewhere that he and his brother were preparing an expedition.

[2] Extracts, translated. Simancas, Estado, K. 1563, no. B 56/213 (*Cal. S.P. Spain, 1580–6*, p. 539).

[3] 'el conde de cecetor'.

[4] *The copie of a leter, wrytten by a master of arte of Cambrige...concerning...the erle of Leycester.* [Antwerp?], 1584, translated as *La vie abominable...de my lord de Lecestre.* Paris, 1585, and best known as *Leycester's commonwealth* (see the edition by F. J. Burgoyne, 1904, and Milton Waldman, *Elizabeth and Leicester* (1944), pp. 168–71).

[5] 'Vn carta de nueuo'. The calendar, reading 'nueue', translates as 'A letter dated 9th instant'.

[6] The reference may be to the intercepted letter above, in which case the assumption would be that the version in the State Papers is a copy of a letter, the original of which was allowed to proceed.

119. $\frac{12}{22}$ JUNE 1585.

DIEGO HERNÁNDEZ DE QUIÑONES TO PHILIP II[1]

'Statement made by the warden and commander of Havana, Diego Hernández de Quiñones, on 22 June 1585, giving an account of the ravaging of those islands by many pirate ships, and urging upon his majesty the need to send warships to the aid of the *flotas* &c.

Sacred Catholic royal majesty:—From the president, judges, and your majesty's officials in the House of Trade I received information that a large number of war vessels had left England for an unknown destination, and orders that I should exercise the caution, care and vigilance which befit your majesty's service.[2] After this news had been received the *flota* of New Spain and the ships from Honduras, Jamayca and Campeche entered this port, and immediately after this Pedro Menéndez Marqués[3] and I were informed by Diego Menéndez Valdés,[4] your majesty's governor of the island of San Juan de Puerto Rico and commander of the fortress there, of the arrival at Guardianilla, a port ten leagues from that of Puerto Rico,[5] of two great ships[6] which had disembarked

[1] Translated. Museo Naval, Madrid, Collección Navarrete, xxv, no. 48 (Vicente Vela, *Indice*, no. 928). I am indebted to Mr A. L. Rowse for a transcript. The original has not been located at Seville where it was copied from 'legajo 3° de Buen Govierno de Indias' in 1793. It should be compared with the letter of the following day by the same writer, who was warden of La Fuerza, the fortress of Havana, to the House of Trade in Wright, *Further English voyages*, pp. 10–11.

[2] This warning has not yet been found. Miss Wright states that Diego de Alcega said in his letter of 13/23 June (*Further English voyages*, p. 11) that it mentioned Drake, and it was, presumably, based on the news which was coming through Paris about English affairs (cp. pp. 728–32 above).

[3] Governor of Florida and on his way to Spain on leave (cp. pp. 719–20).

[4] His letter is evidently that of 28 May/7 June printed in Wright, *Further English voyages*, pp. 9–10.

[5] This is a mistake by the writer. Menéndez de Valdés had said (Wright, *Further English voyages*, p. 9) 'at Las Boquillas (south coast of this island, some ten leagues east of our port of Guadianilla)'. Tallaboa Bay, where it is most probable the camp was located, was only three miles east of the entrance to Guayanilla Harbour (cp. p. 181 above).

[6] The *Tiger* and the *Elizabeth* (cp. pp. 181–3 above).

400 men,[1] who had raised fortifications enclosed by trenches[2] and had cut timber to make launches.[3]

Thereupon, at his [Menéndez de Valdés'] command, a lieutenant from San Jerman, with forty men, had gone to Guardianilla and reconnoitred the site.[4] He [the governor] had then despatched thirty-five arquebusmen with orders that, together with those already there, they should harass the corsairs as they sallied from their encampment to cut wood or draw water. When they [the English] left, the lieutenant, who had been the first to arrive on the scene, forthwith sent a despatch to the governor informing him that the corsairs had departed on June 8,[5] and in it gave an account of the site and disposition of the fort and of the finding, within the fort, of a paper with writing on it.[6] He added that the fort had a ditch and trenches enclosing the beach, that hutments and a smithy had been erected,[7] and that it was all so well-planned and solid that it gave the impression of being intended for permanent occupation. He described how, as soon as their launches were ready, they quitted the fort and embarked. He sent two men to parley with them and find out who they were.[8] The corsairs, likewise, hoisted the flag of truce and sent out two men who told the lieutenant's men that they were English, who were prepared to do barter on favourable terms, and that they were going on to barter in New Spain. Sailing off towards Mona, they took a bark

[1] They are not likely to have had much more than 250 men between them (cp. pp. 181, 205 above).

[2] For White's drawing, see pp. 403–4 above.

[3] A single pinnace, so the English account says (pp. 181–3 above).

[4] The first sign the English saw of the Spaniards was when on 16/26 May eight horsemen appeared out of the woods. The lieutenant evidently kept the rest of his men under cover.

[5] The entrenchments were destroyed on 23 May/2 June, but the vessels remained off the south-west corner of Puerto Rico until 29 May/8 June (cp. pp. 183–5).

[6] A post with an inscription cut on it (cp. Wright, *Further English voyages*, pp. 9, 12; p. 183 above).

[7] 'y hechos buhios y su herréria', confirmed by White's drawing (cp. pp. 403–7 above).

[8] The parley took place on 22 May/1 June (pp. 182–3 above), the Spaniards promising food and water the following day, but failing to deliver them.

on its way from Santo Domingo, and, later, a large frigate[1] with a great cargo of cloth[2] for Puerto Rico, to the great inconvenience and loss of the people of that island.

When the governor sent off this information there remained at San Jerman[3] three large ships and two launches. The corsairs were asking the local inhabitants for horses, pigs, calves and mares.[4] They had brought with them two well-attired Indians,[5] and said that their intention was to establish a colony but did not say where. The paper found in the fort, which Pedro Menéndez Marqués is enclosing for your majesty,[6] and the account of the general, Don Diego de Alcega,[7] corroborate this.

In view of this information your majesty's generals of the *flota* and of Florida, and I, myself, agreed, as your majesty will see from the report, to forward this news so that your majesty may provide warships to assist the fleets.[8] We have in this port only those ships able to take effective action of which Pedro Menéndez Marqués tells your majesty. The remainder, to the number of forty, are lacking in all that is necessary for meeting such contingencies as may arise. To remedy this it is most advisable that warships should be sent at once to these islands.

Today a ship from Puerto de Plata in Española entered this port, the master of which told Pedro Menéndez Marqués, Don Diego

[1] 24–5 May/3–4 June (pp. 183–4 above).

[2] Menéndez de Valdés said the cloth had been brought out by Lorenzo de Vallejo's ships which had slipped from the fleet into Santo Domingo without permission (Wright, *Further English voyages*, pp. 9–10). The vessel may have been French (ibid. p. 16).

[3] The town of San German was not on the sea but San German bay was apparently the present Sucia Bay (cp. pp. 181, 748).

[4] The object was to acquire livestock for the American colony (cp. pp. 187, 742, 747). Menéndez de Valdés said he had forbidden barter (cp. Wright *Further English, voyages*, pp. 10, 12), but he did not succeed in stopping it (p. 184).

[5] Manteo and Wanchese (cp. pp. 116, 189; Wright, *Further English voyages*, pp. 175–6).

[6] Cp. p. 183, n. 5, above. His letter has not been seen.

[7] Wright, *Further English voyages*, pp. 11–12, written the same day.

[8] Cp. the intercepted letter from Diego Osorio, captain of the galley stationed at Santo Domingo, p. 739 below.

de Alcega and me how there remained at this island,[1] in the port of Isavela, five large ships,[2] one of them a great galeass. At Puerto de Plata the corsairs had tried to obtain horses, dogs, cattle and sheep, and the master understood that some horses had been acquired by them by barter. Such was the situation on the 15th of this present month, when they were still on that coast. The master told me also that on the south coast, at Cape Cruz, there were two other large vessels.[3] This news tallies with that of the House of Trade.[4]

The plan and principal objective of these corsairs is not yet understood,[5] nor has Pedro Menéndez Marqués—a man of experience and conversant with these parts—any other ideas about them than those he has already communicated to your majesty. It seemed desirable, and we were both of this opinion, that he should return from here to Florida where he will put into effect plans of which he will inform your majesty.[6]

As far as the precautions taken in this fortress are concerned, I have exercised (and have informed your majesty diligently of my endeavours) and shall continue to exercise that scrupulous care and vigilance in protecting the inhabitants of the fortress and the

[1] Grenville's visit to Hispaniola lasted from 1/11 June to 7/17 June (pp. 185–7 above).

[2] There were three large ships only, the *Tiger* (the 'galeass'), the *Elizabeth* and the Santo Domingo prize, the other two ships being the new pinnace and the small prize (cp. pp. 181–8, 739–40).

[3] Cape Cruz being at the south-eastern tip of Cuba. The vessels may have been two stragglers from Grenville's squadron, or else French privateers (cp. pp. 163–5).

[4] Possibly warnings about anticipated raiders (pp. 725–7 above).

[5] They had tantalized one of their prisoners with suggestions that they intended to settle Dominica or Trinidad (p. 741 below), but it is likely that Menéndez Marqués guessed their intention to be to settle north of the Florida garrisons. It is possible, though far from certain, that he had some information on the 1584 expedition (cp. p. 727 above). The Hispaniola authorities successfully learned the correct destination of the expedition, though this had probably not been communicated to Havana by this time (Wright, *Further English voyages*, p. 16).

[6] In the absence of Menéndez Marqués's despatches we cannot be sure what his plan was, but it almost certainly urged the reinforcement from Spain of the Florida garrisons and it possibly envisaged a reconnaissance of the coast to the north such as was made before the end of the year (cp. pp. 765–6 below).

town which are proper to your majesty's service. But the royal officials, as I have stated before, are extremely negligent in purchasing the supplies for the victualling of the fortress, according to your majesty's orders. Recently, when I summoned them to a meeting in order to consider the question of supplies and purchases for this fortress, they proved very difficult, and desired me to go to the place where they were or wherever they wished me to go. In view of their conduct, and the gravity of the news, I have demanded that they deliver the supplies commanded by your majesty, otherwise I will hold them in this fortress. I do not know what they propose to do. Of what they have done in the *flota* I will inform your majesty as will also Pedro Menéndez Marqués, if the Lord bring him to safety.

I desired the generals to visit this fortress and inspect it so that your majesty might be kept informed. They noted the great lack of match,[1] and they arranged for me to be supplied from their ships, as likewise, Pedro Menéndez Marqués from his ship, as there remained only the quantity set out in my sworn statement.

I understand that the ships now at Cape Cruz are the same which a short time ago were at Cape Sant Anton. They have remained at the latter place since Christmas[2] until quite recently, doing the damage of which I told your majesty.

Gavriel de Lujan[3] remains suspended at your majesty's command. On hearing of the corsairs I ordered him back to his district, the country in the rear of Santiago de Cuba and Bahiamo, so that he could give the necessary instructions if the enemy should put in at any port along that coast. He is of little use here, on account of his suspension from office in the town and within its limits of jurisdiction. I shall advise your majesty, by way of the *flota*, of his reply and of his actions. If I were he, I would not wait, but go at

[1] 'cuerda'.

[2] If this is so they cannot have been Grenville's ships but probably French privateers which had wintered at Cuba.

[3] Gabriel de Luxan, for whom see pp. 766–7 below; Wright, *Further English voyages*, pp. lx, 168, 177, 184.

once to my post, having due regard to the needs of your majesty's service. Pedro Menéndez Marqués, as I have told your majesty, will continue on his journey,[1] and, as I receive news of importance, I will inform his deputy. Although his desire to see your majesty is great, he considers it better to attend to his immediate duties—as he has always done with greater willingness than Gabriel de Luján, since it was necessary for me to order him to do what I have already described.

May our Lord protect your majesty's sacred Catholic royal person, and grant your majesty increase in the number of your realms and dominions, and the great good health and long life which your loyal vassals and servants desire for your majesty, and which it is so necessary for all Christendom that your majesty should enjoy. Dated in this, your majesty's fortress of San Christobal de la Havana, 22 June 1585. Sacred Catholic royal majesty.

Diego Hernández de Quiñones

120. $\frac{13}{23}$ JUNE 1585.

NOTES OUT OF AN INTERCEPTED LETTER FROM DIEGO OSORIO TO PHILIP II[2]

N°. 1. In the packett of n°. 1. don diego ossorio[3] advertyseth the kinge by his *Lett*res Wrytten from Sainta domingo in the Iland of hispanyola the xxiij^{te} of Iune 1585 That the v^{the} of february last he had conflict with 3 frenche shippes & 3 pinaces in the port of

[1] This indicates that Menéndez Marqués intended to stay only a short time in Florida and then resume his journey to Spain. He was told to remain where he was (pp. 745–6 below) and did not get home until 1589 (p. 796 below).

[2] Extract. P.R.O., S.P. Foreign, Spain, S.P. 94/2, 46 (*Cal. S.P. Foreign, 1584–5*, p. 573). Ten packets in all are mentioned and brief translated summaries are given of four besides this. There is no indication of where or when they were taken, but it is possible that they derive from Grenville's prize the *Santa Maria* (cp. pp. 219–20 above; Wright, *Further English voyages*, pp. 12–15).

[3] Diego Osorio commanded the galley *Santiago*, the only fit vessel remaining on the Santo Domingo station. By the time Drake appeared (31 December/10 January following) this too was unseaworthy (Wright, *Further English voyages*, pp. xxviii–xxx).

Hatiboince[1] with a galley wherin he was capitane & that he could neyther take nor sinke them, & that they fowgthe seaven howers/

he complayneth of the subiectes of the north *partes* of hyspanyola who desyer rather to trafficke with frenchemen, then to lyve in ther obediens / & he complayneth of the Iustices who shuld see the same Reformed, & that they do inriche them selves in suffering of that disorder, *which* he fereth will not be Remedyed/

he compleyneth of the want of furnyteur for the two galleys *whiche* be ther, he wrytteth that he is making a fregatt of viij bankes, *which* will do great servis in those *partes*/

Also that the xij[the] of Iune 1585 ther was discovered at Puerto de Plata[2] fyve ynglyshe shippes *which* passed alongest the coast towardes the Isabella & so towardes the Cuba. tow of the ships being of 200 tones a pece & 2 of them of a lesser burth[en] & one pynasse, & in them was v C hargabusiers,[3] The generalls name he knewe not, but by all lycklyhoode he semed to be a man of great accompt, and that he had in his company many gentlemen of ingland, he wrytteth that his galley was not [able][4] to dele with them, and that with great boldnesse, the frenche shippes & inglishe shippes do shew them selves vppon that coast in euery portt, & that it is nedefull to haue .3. or .4. galleys in very good order in thes partes,[5] for that strangers do bere more Rule ther today then the kinge him selfe/....

[*Endorsed:*] Extracte out of certeine spanishe letters.

[1] This may represent Artibonite, cp. R. Artibonite, with Grande Saline at its mouth, in lat. 19° 15′ N., long. 73° 51′ W.

[2] Grenville had arrived at Isabela, according to the English account (p. 185 above) on 1/10 June.

[3] Cp. pp. 173, 734 above; Wright, *Further English voyages*, pp. 11, 16. The '500 arquebusiers' was a great exaggeration since Grenville is likely only to have been able to muster 100 to 150 (cp. p. 734).

[4] Supplied.

[5] Two reinforcing galleys came out with the 1586 fleet but were too late to affect the fate of the city at Drake's hands (Fernández Duro, *Armada Española*, II, 482; *Coll. doc. inéditos de Indias*, 2nd ser., XIV, 59–60, 292; Wright, *Further English voyages*, pp. lxv, lxviii–ix).

121. [JUNE 1585.]

THE RELATION OF HERNANDO DE ALTAMIRANO[1]

The relation given by Don Hernando de Altamirano of a powerful English fleet which crossed the Atlantic Ocean to the Indies with the purpose, it would seem, of establishing settlements in Trinidad and Dominica, and in other territories which Spain did not wish to settle. The general of this fleet was a certain Verde Campo [Grenville].

He says that as he was coming in a frigate from Santo Domingo laden with merchandise, in the month of May 1585, she was taken by the English in the straits four leagues from the island of San Juan.[2] They had, altogether, four sail, the largest being of about 200 tons, another of about 100, and another, a small vessel captured the day before also on its way from Santo Domingo;[3] while they also had a pinnace which had been built on the south side of the island of San Juan at a port called Mosquetal,[4] where they had built a fort and a forge to make nails for the pinnace. They had spent twelve days strengthening their vessels which had been damaged in a storm,[5] in the course of which thirteen or fourteen ships, in whose company they had left England,[6] had been scattered, and whose arrival they had been awaiting there.

[1] Translated. Museo Naval, Madrid, Colección Navarrete, XXV, no. 49 (Vicente Vela, *Indice*, no. 926), a transcript made in 1794 from 'Legajo 6 de Papeles diversos de la Secretaria de Nueba España', but not yet located at Seville. I am again indebted to Mr Rowse for a transcript.

[2] The capture of Lorenzo de Vallejo's ship took place in the Mona Channel between Hispaniola and San Juan de Puerto Rico on 25 May/4 June (pp. 184, 735 above).

[3] Cp. p. 184 above.

[4] Thus the English name Mosquito Bay (apparently Tallaboa Bay, cp. Antonio de Herrera, *Historia general de los hechos de los castellanos* (*Descripción de los Indias Occidentales*) (Madrid, 1601), pp. 12–13, who puts 'Guadianilla o S. German el nuevo' on the west coast, and says 'Huuo antiquamente en esta isla otro pueblo, que se llamó Guanica, en la costa del Sur, al cabo della adónde està aora el puerto de Mosquitos ('Port of Mosquitos' in Purchas, *Pilgrims*, XVI, 449), que es muy bueno', but this is unlikely to be the present Guanica Harbour but rather Guayanilla Harbour and its appendages; pp. 181, 733–4).

[5] Cp. pp. 175, 182.

[6] This figure, if not a mere exaggeration, may be taken to include Bernard Drake's contingent (pp. 234–42 above) which was to have followed Grenville.

He says also that he learnt that special people had come from England on this fleet for the purpose of colonising Trinidad and Dominica and other remote territories[1] which his majesty could not settle on account of his many commitments elsewhere. They said they wished Spaniards and English in the Indies to be as one and had not come to kill anyone.[2] Such had been the command of a great lord of England who had sent them, so their general, a certain Verde Campo[3] [Sir Richard Grenville], had told him many times.

The members of the expedition include men skilled in all trades,[4] and among them were about twenty who appeared to be persons of some importance,[5] whose food was served on plate of silver and gold. They were accompanied by two tall Indians, whom they treated well, and who spoke English.[6] They brought with them many musical instruments, 'chirimias',[7] organs and others, because, they said, the Indians liked music. Finally, after their manner, they had brought the Bible translated into Castilian,[8] a copy of

[1] Again note the misleading reports of the purpose and objective of the expedition (cp. pp. 736, 747).

[2] Grenville's combination of privateering with attempts to trade did not apparently strike the Spaniards as necessarily incongruous, the reason being, probably, that they had become accustomed to such practices by the French.

[3] This is the first Spanish report to pick up Grenville's name (cp. p. 739 above; Wright, *Further English voyages*, pp. 11, 16). The 'great lord' was, of course, Raleigh.

[4] We could well do with more detailed information on the specialized craftsmen who accompanied the expedition (cp. pp. 18, 130–8 above).

[5] A good enough estimate. A check of the names on pp. 174–5, 179–80, 194–5 above gives twenty-seven men who might be classed as gentlemen, though they included some not on either of the two English ships then under Grenville's command.

[6] A valuable picture of Manteo and Wanchese and a clear statement of their ability to speak English (cp. pp. 116, 127, 232 above).

[7] Probably 'clarions', shrill-sounding trumpets with narrow tubes (cp. Rowse, *Grenville*, p. 212). For Grenville's fondness for music, see ibid. p. 220, and Wright, *Further English voyages*, p. 15. In a chancery case (Richard Drake *v.* Jonas Bodenham, 1598, P.R.O., C. 2/33/96, the reference to which I owe to Mrs Eleanor Godfrey) we hear of 'a chest of instrumentes of musicke' which were Sir Francis Drake's, and were taken from his ship after his death, comprising a lute, 'hobboyes sagbutes Cornettes & orpharions bandora & suche like'.

[8] This is one of the few examples of positive Protestant propaganda attempted by Englishmen at this period in the Caribbean, but the indication is that it was

which they desired Don Hernando to take with him to the city of Puerto Rico in order that the inhabitants there might understand how they had been deceived by their preachers.

He says further that at San German, which is on the said island of San Juan, they tried to obtain horses and mares and other animals, both male and female, in exchange for himself and his companions. When they saw that the inhabitants were unwilling to provide the animals they made as if to hang him and his fellows, but, on the day before they set sail, they put them on land[1] in order that he and his companions should not take note of the course they were taking. In the calm of the following morning they sailed away and were seen to double Cape Engaño on the island of Santo Domingo.

When they took Don Fernando and his companions prisoner they stripped them of all letters and papers in their possession, which a Lutheran Portuguese,[2] whom they had as their pilot, translated. Another back-sliding Portuguese, who did not wish to reveal himself, was also in their company.[3] All the time they kept asking whether news had been received in the Indies of their ships. They took away with them many banana plants and other fruit-trees which they found along the shore, and made drawings of fruits and trees.[4] They had with them both a treasurer and an under-treasurer.[5] They made inquiries about the forces in Puerto

not exceptional. The Protestant bible was *La biblia. . . . Trasladada en Español* [by Cassiodoro de Reyna], [Basle,] 1569. There was, in addition, the famous Ferrara Old Testament, with its convenient imprimatur (*Biblia en lengua española. Visita y examinada por el oficio de la Inquisition. Con privilegio del illustrissima señor Duque de Ferrera*, Ferrara, 1553); and the two Protestant New Testaments, *El nueuo testamento . . . traduzido . . . por Francisco de Euzinas*, Enueres, 1543, and *El testamento nueuo* [translated by I. Perez de Pineda], Venecia [*recte* Geneva], 1556.

[1] This is evidently a cover for the local inhabitants and for himself. There was trade done and the English claimed that 'good round summes' were obtained in ransoms for the released prisoners (p. 184 above).

[2] This will be Simon Fernandez, the master of the *Tiger* (cp. p. 211 above, and Wright, *Further English voyages*, pp. 15, 240). Spanish reports elsewhere do not state specifically that he was a Protestant.

[3] The second Portuguese is not elsewhere named or mentioned.

[4] This represents John White in action (cp. pp. 55, 407–8 above).

[5] The treasurer was Francis Brooke, but it was the under-treasurer, whose name is not known, who was left with Lane on Roanoke Island (pp. 210, 290 above).

Rico and Santo Domingo,[1] and whether the Inquisition functioned there. According to them, no Frenchman should be left with his life.[2]

122. $\frac{13}{23}$ JULY 1585.

PHILIP II TO BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA[3]

I have seen the despatches from England which came with a letter of the twenty-first of last month. Continue sending these despatches as we now receive no news from England from any other source.[4] Report especially whether Drake's or any other fleet has sailed, and, if so, with what number of ships and men, since the return of Rale to this realm.[5]...Monzon. 23 July 1585.

123. $\frac{6}{16}$ NOVEMBER 1585.

BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA TO PHILIP II[6]

The ships fitted out by Rale have brought into Plymouth some vessels[7] belonging to subjects of your majesty, laden with sugar

[1] One of their objectives is likely to have been the collection of information likely to be useful to Drake or to the further expedition which was expected to follow him (cp. pp. 160, 204–6 above).

[2] Grenville's anti-French bias is evident elsewhere, but it is likely that he had as one of his contacts in Hispaniola a Frenchman 'Alanson' (cp. pp. 185, 521 above).

[3] Minute of letter, deciphered. Extract, translated. Simancas, Estado, K. 1448, no. 21-36 (*Cal. S.P. Spain, 1580–6*, p. 552).

[4] Álvaro de Bazán was, in fact, getting much more accurate reports through his own agents. Cp. his reports on Grenville's departure, objective and fleet (Wright, *Further English voyages*, pp. xxii, 8, and also pp. 753–4 below).

[5] 'a esse reyno', translated in the *Calendar* 'to France', but England is clearly meant. Philip appears to have thought Raleigh was with the ships. For the reports of their return, see pp. 731–2 above.

[6] Extract, translated. Simancas, Estado K. 1563, no. 139–182 (*Cal. S.P. Spain, 1580–6*, p. 552).

[7] The prize taken on the way back, the *Santa Maria de San Vicente*, arrived at Plymouth on 18/28 October (p. 193 above). No certain record of the return of the two prizes taken in the West Indies has been found (but cp. p. 184 above).

and other drugs.[1] As Ralc had gone down in person to the port[2] it was said that some silver or gold had come in them.... Paris. 16 November 1585.

124. $\frac{14}{24}$ DECEMBER 1585.

COUNCIL OF THE INDIES TO PHILIP II[3]

Sacred Catholic royal majesty:—In view of the great damage and plundering which the corsairs continually carry out on ships of the Spanish-American trade and on the coasts of the Indies[4] because of the lack of adequate care and protection, the council has considered this matter and has, on various occasions, begged your majesty to give orders that measures be taken for the necessary remedy of this evil. Since the damage is becoming greater every day and since, if the arrogance of these corsairs remains unchecked, we will always be troubled, we again, with all humility, beseech your majesty to find a remedy; especially as the news which is commonly received from those parts of damage done will oblige us to come to a decision shortly: as also touching aid for Florida, where it may be presumed that the corsairs, who at the beginning of the year were in Puerto Rico, have gone to establish settlements.[5] Suspecting this to be their intention, Governor Pedro Menéndez Marqués, who was on his way to enjoy the furlough which your majesty had granted him, remained in Havana.[6] As, since then,

[1] Cp. pp. 177, 219–22, 231, 757, and the relation of Enrique Lopez in Wright, *Further English voyages*, pp. 12–15.

[2] For Raleigh's visit to Plymouth, see pp. 170, 217, 219 above.

[3] Translated. Seville, A.G.I. 147. 5. 15 (Indiferente General, Junta de Guerra, Consultas originales, Años 1586 á 1603); copy in Library of Congress, Transcripts, A.G.I., General Series).

[4] 'En la carrera y costas de las Indias'.

[5] News of Grenville's activities and presumed intentions had already reached the Azores by 12/22 July (Wright, *Further English voyages*, p. xxii, n. 3), and the June dispatches from the West Indies were by now available in Spain (ibid. pp. 9–12; pp. 733–43 above).

[6] Cp. pp. 736–8 above. He had, in fact, gone back to Florida to make certain preparations, intending to sail from there to Spain when he was ready.

no news has been heard of him, it is possible that some unlooked-for trouble may have arisen, as Captain Rodrigo de Junco also suggests in the memorandum given to me, the president, which is enclosed herein.[1]

This matter has again been discussed in the council, and we have been moved by the representations urgently made of the need there is for settlers to be sent out, as your majesty was advised in our report of the sixteenth of last month.[2] In it we set forth what might happen if it was the intention of the corsairs to settle there and the consequent greater urgency for us to send out settlers who, moreover, in any event, would be necessary. We agreed that it would be well to despatch a ship; one moreover, strong and well-armed, and with it a patache or large caravel,[3] with settlers, arms, powder, necessary military stores and any other cargo considered desirable, as also a sum of money, to assist those living in those forts who, it is understood, are in great need, as they have not been supplied in good time with their pay. And we agreed that this assistance must be given forthwith. Fulfilling the orders your majesty gave in answer to the report mentioned above, a letter had been addressed to the president and officials of Seville, asking them to say whether personnel and assistance could be sent in the *galeones* and left at Havana on the way out or on the return journey, and be despatched direct from that point, or whether they could be sent ahead if a convenient opportunity offered. But the delay would indeed be a long one if they had to wait.

Pedro Menéndez Marqués should be written to and thanked for

[1] Document no. 125, pp. 746–8 below.

[2] This, the first formal reaction by the council to the news of Grenville's expedition, has not been seen, but it evidently forms the link between the plans which were being discussed the previous January (pp. 726–7 above) and the present document.

[3] 'Patax o Caruelon.' No aid was, in fact, sent out with the *galeones* in the spring of 1586, but a single vessel, under Juan de Posada, which left Spain at the end of May, made a direct passage to Florida, arriving at San Agustín on 19 July, in time to give first-aid to the settlement after Drake's devastating attack (Wright, *Further English voyages*, pp. 203, 205–6).

having remained in Havana, and he should be instructed not to go on leave for yet a while.[1]

May your majesty give whatever orders you please.

Madrid, 24 December 1585. [*Seven signatures.*]

[*Minute by Philip II:*] The plan for assistance, in preparation for any eventuality in Florida, seems good, and may be submitted to the president and officials of the House of Trade and to Antonio de Guevara so that this small modification may be included in the arrangements for the fleet. You may also submit to them your plan for the despatch of the ship as it may appear to be a necessary expedient in spite of the departure of the *galeones*. In view of the necessity for speed, even though the *galeones* should be equipped very expeditiously, they would not be as quick [as the ship]. You should advise the president and officials[2] that neither the orders given now, nor any other matter, should be made a pretext for delay.

As far as the money is concerned, which it appears should be provided, this should be supplied from there, since there is sufficient warrant,[3] and our signed authority is despatched herewith, and it and all despatches are sent, as is to be expected, in duplicate. [*Signature.*]

125. [DECEMBER 1585.]
RODRIGO DE JUNCO TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL OF THE INDIES[4]

Illustrious Sir: Captain Rodrigo de Junco says that on various occasions he has shewn you the need which the forts of Florida have of men, and has asked in the council that people be sent out,

[1] Cp. pp. 738–9.

[2] Of the *Casa de Contratación*.

[3] 'pues estamos a mano', literally 'since we are at hand'. 'There' is evidently the House of Trade.

[4] Translated. Seville, A.G.I. 147. 5. 18, enclosed in the foregoing document, no. 124. He is likely to have come with Juan de Posada towards the end of 1584 to attempt to get something done in Florida (cp. pp. 726–7 above).

not only because of the actual need for their services, but also because of the many corsairs which have left England, whose intentions he perfectly understands: they are going to those provinces to colonize them, as he warned his majesty in a memorandum which he prepared at his request and placed in your hands.[1] For a year now he has been negotiating concerning this and other matters; and he has since heard, in letters sent from the Indies, that certain English galleons touched at Quadianilla, a port in the island of Sant Joan,[2] and also at Ysavela, a port in the island of Española,[3] where they bartered for horses, mares and live cattle. From this it is assumed they were going to settle at some new place on the mainland. Further, this rumour having reached Havana, Pedro Menéndez Marqués, governor of Florida and of that coast, would, [it was said], remain at his post for the time being, but, if there was no further news, he would come on to Spain.[4] From the fact that he has not come it is to be inferred that he has had news of the corsairs. And his not having sent word leads us to suspect that something unusual has occurred in those parts, particularly as the English galleons, which touched at the above-mentioned islands, are not known to have appeared since at any other place in the Indies. This in itself gives rise to further suspicions.[5]

I pray you give the necessary instructions and also compare this memorandum with the more lengthy one to which I have referred here. I beg you, too, so to order matters in every respect that the interests of his majesty's service and the security of that territory may be provided for. Much money and many men are required to keep that territory safe. It should also be noted that if Pedro

[1] His earlier memorandum has not been seen.

[2] Guadianilla, San Juan de Puerto Rico (cp. pp. 181, 733–4 above).

[3] Isabela, Hispaniola (cp. pp. 185–7 above).

[4] The information conveyed by Diego Hernández de Quiñones in his letters of 12/22 June (pp. 733–8 above and Wright, *Further English voyages*, pp. 10–11).

[5] These were reasonable deductions, but, in the absence of Menéndez Marqués's despatches, we cannot say whether on his return to San Agustín he obtained positive news of English activities on the coast. His despatch of a reconnaissance expedition (which failed to find the fort on Roanoke Island) late in the year suggests that he had, at least, some rumours from local Indians to go on.

Menéndez Marqués is absent from those forts it will be necessary to send someone to take charge in his absence.[1]

It is also necessary that a certain Domingo Gonçález de Leon, who is now at court, and who is our most skilful interpreter in those provinces, be sent back there.[2] He is very much needed, and his wife and children over there are in great poverty. Besides, he went off to Spain without leave.

126. 27 DECEMBER 1585.
6 JANUARY 1586.

PHILIP II TO PEDRO MENÉNDEZ MARQUÉS[3]

The King

Pedro Menéndez Marqués, my governor of the provinces of Florida; from what you have written and from other letters received from Havana,[4] I have understood that on your arrival there to come to this country by virtue of the leave I gave you, you received news of certain corsairs in the port of Jerman,[5] in Puerto Rico, who intended to establish colonies, chiefly in Florida; and that you had returned to that place to defend it, for which I thank you.

Since, as you have heard, news has come that, besides the said corsairs, others with a large number of ships have left England and might come to those shores,[6] I order you not to use for the time

[1] Orders were sent (document no. 126, following) to him to remain in Florida and not come on leave to Spain. This decision is likely to have been made independently of de Junco's recommendation.

[2] Instructions to the royal officials in Florida on 20 February/2 March 1586 are entered in A.G.I., Santo Domingo 2528, fos. 195 v.–196, ordering them to give Domingo Gonçales his arrears of salary and to pay him, now that he was returning, the rate for interpreters current in the Audiencia of New Spain.

[3] Translated. Entered in A.G.I., Santo Domingo 2528, fos. 193–193 v. I owe this item to Señor José de la Peña y Cámara.

[4] See pp. 733–43 above.

[5] San German, though not on the sea, was the nearest town to the site of Grenville's camp (p. 735 above).

[6] A warning, evidently not the first, of the danger of an attack by Drake's fleet which was, in the result, well merited (cp. pp. 251–2 above).

being the leave I gave you to come here, but to continue at your post, taking the steps that are necessary, as your character and services make me confident you will do. I shall order a note to be made for you to be rewarded when there should be an opportunity to do so. At Ulldecona, 6 January 1586, I the King. Countersigned by Antonio de Eraso and sealed by the council.

127. $\frac{9}{19}$ JANUARY 1586.

PHILIP II TO DIEGO DE ZUÑIGA, ETC.[1]

Licenciado Don Diego de Zuñiga of my council of the Indies and president of the House of Trade at Seville, Antonio de Guevara of my treasury council, and my officials of the said House of Trade. Because I have received a report that in the forts of the provinces of Florida there is much need for reinforcements of soldiers, arms, powder and munitions, I have therefore decided to order that assistance be sent. Although the question has been discussed of sending it in the Mainland fleet of which Alvaro Flores is going as general,[2] and discharging it at Havana on the way out or back, whence it could be despatched [to Florida], or before that if an occasion should conveniently arise, yet no decision had been taken on account of the speed with which the fleet ought to leave and take the said aid, with which I have considered sending a ship and a patache or large caravel. It has seemed to me best to refer the matter to you, and therefore, as soon as you receive this letter, you should add to the reinforcements you have orders to provide in time for the fleet the men, arms, powder, munitions and other things which you understand are needed in the said forts, so that these can be taken in the fleet if this seems feasible to you. If you see that, because of the haste with which the fleet must sail, they will not be ready in time, then you will despatch them in the said

[1] Translated. Entered in Seville, A.G.I., Santo Domingo 2528, fos. 192 v.–193. I owe this document to Señor José de la Peña y Cámara.

[2] Alvaro Flores de Quiñones did not succeed in leaving Cadiz until 19/29 May (Wright, *Further English voyages*, p. 192).

ship. You are instructed to use great diligence in this matter, but neither for this nor for anything else must the said fleet suffer the slightest delay. You should advise me of whatever action you take in this matter. Dated at Valencia, 19 January 1586.

By the King's command, Antonio de Erasso, and sealed by the council.

128. 20 FEBRUARY / 2 MARCH 1586.

PHILIP II TO DIEGO DE ZUÑIGA, ETC.[1]

The King

Licenciado Diego de Cuniga of my council of the Indies and my president of my House of Trade, and Antonio de Guevara of my treasury council, and my officials of the said House. By my *cédula* dated January 19 last[2] I ordered that, besides the supplies you were instructed to provide for my fleet under the command of Alvaro Flores de Quinones, you should add those you understood were required for the assistance of the forts in Florida, consisting of men, arms, powder, munitions and other requirements, sending them either in the fleet or in a separate vessel, in accordance with the more detailed instructions contained in the said *cédula*. In reply to this you have stated to me, in your letter of February 5, that, after having discusssd the matter, you had found two alternatives, either to send the soldiers, arms and munitions from Havana after the fleet had reached there, or to send a ship [direct]. With reference to the latter you pointed out certain inconveniences—risks and delays that might be involved, and the necessity of specifying the quantity and cost of each article to be supplied.

Subsequently, Captain Juan de Possada, who came from Florida for this assistance, suggested in my council of the Indies that as

[1] Translated. Entered in Seville, A.G.I., Santo Domingo 2528, fos. 194 v.–195. I owe this also to Señor José de la Peña y Cámara.

[2] This has not been seen.

there was no news of those provinces and forts, and as it was not known whether the corsairs had settled there or not, or what had happened, it would be as well to arrange that when the fleet reached Dominica a frigate should be detached outside the islands so as to reconnoitre and find out how matters stood in the forts and along that coast. This frigate, besides the crew, should carry fifty soldiers to reinforce the forts, and once they were landed would return to Havana to await the *armada* [i.e. *galeones*] and the *flota* from New Spain. According to the information thus obtained further provision should be made. The said captain offered to make the voyage himself and take out the reinforcements. Having been consulted by the members of my council I have decided that the proposal is a good one, particularly as the captain is considered to be a good soldier and an experienced seaman. I therefore order you to arrange the way in which the assistance is to be given, and send it as suggested above, equipping the fifty soldiers with the necessary arms and stores and providing all the other things which the captain considers necessary for the forts. You should summon him to you, so as to get information, and instruct him what to do according to the plan set out herein, providing him with any further instructions you deem necessary for its success. You should, at the same time, keep General Alvaro Flores advised, so that he knows the plan, where the ship is to be detached, and how it is to be equipped, and may give the assistance necessary in a matter of such importance to my service and the security of the forts. Kindly advise me what you do.[1]

[1] A vessel skirting the Caribbean Islands might, if winds were favourable, save time on the way to Florida, but, if the route was a safe one, it is surprising it was not more often taken as it was shorter. It is impossible to decide whether Posada, on his fifty-day passage, 'on a course different from that taken by other pilots', accompanied Flores so far as Dominica or whether he went entirely alone. The dates we have are consistent with either explanation (cp. Wright, *Further English voyages*, pp. 192, 203, 205). The fact that it took from January 1585 to the end of May 1586 to get a handful of reinforcements and supplies despatched to Florida even when danger threatened is an example of Spanish imperial bureaucracy at its most obstructive. Yet there are also examples of rapid and decisive action to be cited in other instances (cp. pp. 723, 754).

Dated at Almansa, 2 March 1586. I the King. Countersigned by Mateo Vasquez and sealed by the council.

129. $\frac{9}{19}$ FEBRUARY 1586.

VINCENZO GRADENIGO TO THE DOGE AND SENATE OF VENICE[1]

Lisbon and Castille are in an uproar at the news of Drake's depredations.

'They murmer still more on account of the news that Claremont,[2] an Englishman, has conquered all Florida in the West Indies, and threatens New Spain; and this would be a most important enterprise on account of the many millions of gold which yearly arrive from those parts.' Madrid, 19 February 1586.

130. $\frac{6}{16}$ MARCH 1586.

RUMOURS OF DRAKE IN FLORIDA[3]

There is a report amongst the Spaniards that thirty great ships are arming in Lisbon and Seville to go in search of the corsair 'Drago', who is gone towards Peru, after disembarking in Florida a thousand soldiers, English and French.[4] These being come as far as Setubal,[5] were attacked by Indians and Spaniards and 600 killed, the rest saving themselves by flight.

[1] Extract. *Cal. S.P. Venetian, 1581–91*, p. 140.

[2] Evidently Sir Richard Grenville.

[3] News (in Italian) from Antwerp. *Cal. S.P. Foreign, 1585–6*, p. 484 (from P.R.O., Italian Newsletters xcv. 28).

[4] Compare the report from Madrid above.

[5] Not identified, but cp. Satuga, p. 474 above.

131. 31 MARCH / 9 APRIL 1586.

ÁLVARO DE BAZÁN, MARQUIS OF SANTA CRUZ, TO PHILIP II[1]

From later information we have had from England[2] it is learned that Don Richar Gransfels [Sir Richard Grenville]—he who took the flag-ship of the Santo Domingo fleet, and left 500 men[3] on the Florida coast with five war vessels[4]—was hastening preparations to sail to those parts with more men and another fleet.[5] Besides, there are other galleons which the queen is reported to have ready, for what purpose it is not known; while many other corsairs are known to have left England for the Indies.[6] From all this it is assumed that their chief aim is a special effort to secure a foothold there.[7] When the success which the fleet has had is known in England, help in the form of further settlers and ships will be readily forthcoming, and all this will contribute to increase their power on land and at sea. The equipment and facilities for the

[1] Extract, translated. Printed from the transcript formerly in Colección Navarrete, XLI, (cp. Vicente Vela, *Indice*, p. xxx) by C. Fernández Duro, *La armada invencible*, I (1884), 330–3, and Altolaguirre y Duvale, *Bazán* (1888), pp. 484–6. The date, 9 April, is supplied from the associated documents.

[2] This indicates that Santa Cruz as head of the naval forces had an intelligence service of his own operating in England which was, by this time, more efficient than that maintained by Mendoza from Paris (cp. Wright, *Further English voyages*, p. xxii, n. 3, p. 8).

[3] Lopez had given the figure 300 as the number of the English settlers left in Virginia (ibid. p. 15).

[4] He had not, of course, left five vessels with the settlers.

[5] This is the earliest specific mention of preparations by Grenville for a further expedition (cp. p. 466 above).

[6] Mendoza, as late as 31 May/9 June, was reporting that he knew of no ships leaving for the Indies since Drake had gone the previous autumn (*Cal. S.P. Spain, 1580–6*, pp. 583–4).

[7] Santa Cruz is making no attempt to distinguish between English footholds on the islands or the Main from those on the North American shore. In this he is, in essentials, right, since it is reasonably clear that an important function of the North American settlement was to act as an advanced base for ships operating against the Indies at large (cp. pp. 22, 173, 718–19 above).

building of fortifications which are at their disposal must, particularly, be borne in mind. They rely on using natives as labourers, to whom they will give their freedom,[1] and on the large quantity of artillery captured at Santo Domingo and, possibly, elsewhere, as well as on that brought by the fleet for this very purpose. When all this is considered, and how disastrous it would be for us not to be victorious—both because of the damage to our good cause and to our reputation—it is my opinion that your estimate of the fleet required to oppose the forces which the enemy will have at his disposal is quite insufficient.[2]

132. $\frac{\text{21 JUNE}}{\text{1 JULY}}$ 1586.

JUAN BAUTISTA DE ROJAS TO PHILIP II[3]

Sacred Catholic royal majesty: After having sent ahead two packet-boats to Spain in which I forwarded in duplicate [the report?] which will go with this, a small vessel arrived from Florida, despatched hence by the governor of that place, to ask for assistance in the form of men, food, gun-powder and other military stores and equipment with which he could rebuild the fortifications, since the English corsairs had landed on that coast and, he said, overpowered the garrison, captured and burnt the fortress,[4] and, after seven days, they departed and went to Santa

[1] He may already have had information of Drake's freeing of galley-slaves and negroes at Santo Domingo in January 1586—the earliest dispatch in Wright to mention it (*Further English voyages*, p. 35) is that of 14/24 February.

[2] Santa Cruz was at this time in the middle of preparations which eventually led to the Armada of 1588, but which were then mainly concerned with putting to sea a fleet which could follow and overcome Drake's (Quinn, 'Some Spanish reactions', in *T.R.Hist.S.*, 5th ser., I, 11–12).

[3] Translated. Seville, A.G.I. 54. 1. 34 (Audiencia de Santo Domingo, cartas y expedientes de los oficiales reales de Cuba y Habana vistos en el Consejo desde el año de 1529 á 1599); copy in Library of Congress, Transcripts, A.G.I., General Series. Miss Wright (*Further English voyages*, pp. 163–5, 180–91, 198–206) provides a full selection of the documents on Drake's attack on Florida. This letter from the treasurer of Cuba is added as indicating the capacity of the Spanish colonial officials to act energetically in an emergency (cp. p. 723 above).

[4] For the English versions of the attack see pp. 295–8, 303–6 above.

Elena, where we understand that all who were there have perished.[1] God grant they may have had a better fate, and that these Lutherans may be confounded, and may he help your majesty to chastise their arrogance in the manner it deserves.

It appears that the corsairs left no artillery in the place, nor anything of iron or metal, but carried all away. The governor withdrew with his men to a place to which they had already sent the women and children. I took statements from four witnesses, selected from those who arrived here,[2] so that your majesty might be fully informed of what happened and of the decisions taken here by the governor, the commander of the fortress and the officials, all of which is being sent to your majesty as evidence about this disaster.

We suspect that this corsair [Drake] wishes to settle near here.[3] If this is so, it will be necessary to be very much, and unceasingly, on our guard. May your majesty, therefore, be pleased to send us, in good time, the arms, stores and other things we have already asked for, not omitting anything, because if anything is left out and the enemy should come and find us ill-equipped, your majesty will realise the unfortunate results that will follow.

All that they asked us for from Florida we quickly despatched. Immediately, within four hours, we sent a small vessel with seven *arrobas*[4] of gunpowder and thirteen of lead, biscuits, some oil and other necessities. We are now preparing in great haste a larger ship in which will be sent a number of casks of wine, flour, meat and the military equipment they have requested, as well as four small pieces of artillery, left here by the paymaster, Cevadilla, when he went to New Spain to collect his annual rents. We expect him back

[1] Santa Elena was not, in the event, attacked by Drake (cp. pp. 299–300).

[2] These have been detached from the letter and are apparently those printed in Wright, *Further English voyages*, pp. 180–4.

[3] On the proposed seizure of a West Indian base by a force which was to follow Drake, see pp. 204–6, 250 above.

[4] 177·52 lb. (taking the *arroba* as 25·36 lb., cp. M. Carrera, 'The evolution of weights and measures in New Spain', in *Hispanic American Hist. Rev.*, XIX (1949), 13).

in the *flota*, and out of the amounts he has collected the cost of these stores will be paid. The ship will leave here within ten hours.

May God keep and prosper the sacred Catholic royal person of your majesty. May he increase your majesty's kingdoms and dominions, of which Christendom stands in such need, and as I, your majesty's humble servant, desire. Havana, 1 July 1586.

From your majesty's humble servant and vassal.

[*Signed and sealed:*] Juan Baptista de Rojas

133. $\frac{8}{18}$ JULY 1586.

PHILIP II TO BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA[1]

Your letters of the ninth and twenty-fourth of last month arrived on July 10, though by different routes, and with the latter the duplicate of the others. Thank you for the care with which you keep me informed of what happens. I charge you to continue doing so, as well regarding events there [in France] as in England. I do not gather from your news from there [England] that, in addition to Drake's fleet, so many armed ships had left England as is stated in the relation of the German captain[2] who was a prisoner amongst them and recently arrived in Spain. I send you a copy of his relation, in order that you may sift it and inform me what

[1] Extract, translated. Minute of the king's letter. Simancas, Estado, K. 1448, no. 37–89 (*Cal. S.P. Spain, 1580–6*, p. 591).

[2] This document was described by Hume (*Cal. S.P. Spain*, pp. 591, 601) as being 'a long Latin relation of the events of Drake's voyage in the West Indies (*sic*), which will be found in the Paris Archives (K. 1564, fol. 135)'. He said he did not reproduce it 'as its main points are summarized and commented on in Mendoza's letter to the King, dated 7 August' (Document no. 134 following). The volume, formerly in the Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, Paris, is now in Simancas, but the document has not been found there. Its precise value cannot be estimated until it is located. The man had evidently been captured in the *Santa Maria de San Vicente* and brought to Plymouth in October 1585. He had been kept prisoner and was, apparently, impressed for service in the 1586 expedition but escaped from Plymouth before the ship on which he was to have sailed set out—incidentally giving us our only suggestion that one or more of the vessels of the 1586 expedition sailed from Plymouth (cp. p. 466 above).

part of it is accurate, with any other information you may have of their equipment. . . . San Lorenzo. 18 July 1586.

[*The king has written in the margin of the minute:*] I do not understand that he was a prisoner of Drake's but of him whom he mentions in his relation [Sir Richard Grenville]. If this be so the letter must be altered.

134. 28 JULY / 7 AUGUST 1586.

BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA TO PHILIP II[1]

In another letter, included with this, I am replying to the matter raised in your majesty's despatches, and limit myself here to the relation of the German captain which your majesty ordered to be sent to me on July 18. The ships of Richardo Grinfel, on board which he says he was impressed at Plymouth,[2] are those of whom I wrote to your majesty as soon as I arrived here that Rale, the queen's favourite, was preparing to sail to the coasts of Florida, which voyage had been under discussion for two years before I left England,[3] as I informed your majesty. The ship which this captain says was taken from Captain Domingo[4] and which carried such an abundance of gold, silver, pearls, cochineal, sugar, ivory[5] and hides, is the one which I informed your majesty many months ago[6] had arrived in England, and that Rale, himself, had gone down to the port in order to take possession of what came in her,

[1] Deciphered. Extracts, translated. Simancas, Estado K. 1564, no. 100–168 (*Cal. S.P. Spain, 1580–6*, pp. 599–601).

[2] Cp. p. 756 above. Mendoza had indeed made reports about the preparation of the 1585 expedition (pp. 728–31 above) but the German captain was referring to the preparations for the 1586 expedition on which Mendoza had shed no light (cp. p. 466 above).

[3] He is referring to Sir Humphrey Gilbert's projects on which he had reported during 1582–3 (Quinn, *Gilbert*, passim), but these were directed well to the north of the expeditions sent out under Raleigh's authority.

[4] 'que tomó del Capitan Domingo'. Mendoza is misreading the German captain's Latin, since what Grenville took was the flagship (*capitana*) of the Santo Domingo squadron (cp. p. 169; Wright, *Further English voyages*, pp. 12–15).

[5] Cp. pp. 224–5 above.

[6] Cp. pp. 743–4 above.

so as to prevent it from being dispersed by the sailors. I also reported to your majesty that, as soon as the arrest of the [English] ships took place at Bilbao,[1] the queen of England had issued more than seventy letters of marque[2] to merchants, under cover of which the same number of ships, or more, had sailed for the purpose of plundering your majesty's subjects everywhere. I have also written at various times of the many captains who were held prisoner in English ports, having been taken on board the prizes captured by these unusual pirates. Even if I were in England, it would be impossible for me to know when these vessels leave, or their destination or number, since they set out from different ports, and pursue their voyages as chance or the expectation of prizes dictates, often joining others and sailing in company, more particularly when they intend to go to the Newfoundland or to your majesty's Indies. This is a long and perilous voyage which they undertake in the expectation that the ships which they take on the way will provide them with victuals or with merchandise which they can take to barter with the subjects of your majesty in the Indies when they are short of stores. They give in exchange for food and supplies the goods that they steal so the pirates are thus provided with a subsistence. In this assurance, regularly for many years past ships have gone from this coast of France, as well as from England, to plunder on the Indies route, knowing very well that the traffickers on shore even make fires at night on the small bays and other places in order that they may come in to take victuals in exchange for merchandise, for which they give a fair price. I learnt about this when I was in England and, if it is not remedied by exemplary and rigorous punishment, no matter how strong your majesty's fleets may be, it will not be possible to extirpate the pirates. [The king has minuted this in the margin: 'Notice! I believe this is true. It should be stopped and the offence punished. This should be borne in mind.'] Your majesty's officials have not proceeded in

[1] In May 1585.

[2] At least eighty-two had been issued between July 1585 and February 1586 (P.R.O., H.C.A. 14/23, 43).

this matter with the necessary scrupulousness, as may be gathered from this same relation of the German captain where he says that at Puerto Rico in the island of Santo Domingo[1] Richardo Grinfel was offered supplies for money. This trade is not permitted with any foreigner as your majesty has prohibited all voyages to the Indies except by ships sailing from Seville. Inasmuch as a town, the capital of that island, offers victuals at moderate prices it may well be believed that private traders will sell them as they do at an excessive profit.[2]

The statement that General Grinfel sailed with twenty-eight ships and Aquins with fifteen[3] of the queen's ships and had in them 5000 men, including a large part of the nobility, cannot be correct since the queen has not more than twenty-four ships of her own,[4] and these were, on the twentieth of last month, in England and not ready for sea except for those I mentioned to your majesty in my former letters. Besides no such number of men could have been taken without our learning of it here, or my correspondents reporting the fact. As he says that Drake took 4000 men, when he did not have more than 1500 soldiers and sailors in all, it is clear that he exaggerates in the former cases, besides which any one who knows England will understand that so many men could not

[1] 'pues en el Puerto Rico, Isla de Santo Domingo'. Either owing to defects in his Latin or his geography Mendoza has made this elementary mistake. What was said was probably 'at Puerto Rico and the island of Santo Domingo' though the latter was at this time an unusual designation for Hispaniola.

[2] This is a very interesting discussion of the relations between the islanders and the privateers (cp. p. 739). The removal of Alanson from Hispaniola by 1587 (cp. pp. 501, 521) indicates that the king's comment led him to have action taken.

[3] In the absence of the document on which Mendoza is commenting it is difficult to say how much of this is exaggeration or misreading. If the German captain, for example, is regarding Grenville's 1586 expedition as an appendix to Drake's, the figures can be made to fit well enough by adding to Drake's twenty-one ships (only two being the queen's) Grenville's six. The number with which Hawkins was provided for his expedition to the Spanish coast was eighteen (five being the queen's) (cp. pp. 466–7; Corbett, *Spanish war*, p. xii; Williamson, *Hawkins of Plymouth*, pp. 292–3).

[4] A reasonably accurate estimate, the queen's ships in December 1585 comprising twenty-three vessels over 50 tons and ten below (Williamson, pp. 278–9; Corbett, pp. 300–8).

be sent out of the country, seeing the demands made for men for the Low Countries. The queen is making every effort to raise men for there, yet she cannot send all they ask for.... Paris, 7 August 1586.[1]

135. $\frac{3}{13}$ AUGUST 1586.

BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA TO PHILIP II[2]

In England news has come that Richardo Grinfel, with seven ships,[3] has been taken by five of your majesty's, in the manner following. Your majesty's ships, seeing that the others were English, sent all their men below, and pretended to take flight; whereupon the English gave chase to them and approached to seize and board them, when they realised that they were armed vessels. After a fight, the Spaniards succeeded in making the English surrender. There is no other certainty of this than that it was written from England.... Paris. 13 August 1586.

[*The king has minuted in the margin:*] I do not know what ships these could be. I do not believe it.

136. $\frac{26 \text{ AUGUST}}{5 \text{ SEPTEMBER}}$ 1586.

PHILIP II TO BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA[4]

I have continually over-emphasised, too extensively and at too great length, the relation of that German captain which I sent you.

[1] Copies of this letter and that of 3/13 August following were forwarded to the *Junta de la Contaduría mayor* (supreme board of accounts) by Juan de Idiaquez on 20/30 August (Hernandez de Vega to Philip II, 24 August/3 September, Seville, A.G.I. 140. 7. 35, transcribed in Brit. Mus., Additional MS 36315, fo. 89).

[2] Deciphered. Extracts, translated. Simancas, Estado, K. 1564, no. 100–168 (*Cal. S.P. Spain, 1580–6*, p. 611).

[3] Apart from the fact that Grenville had seven vessels when he reached Porto Santo (Wright, *Further English voyages*, p. 238, and p. 788 below), there is no suggestion of truth in the rumour.

[4] Extract, translated. Simancas, Archivo General, Estado, K. 1448, fo. 67, for which I am indebted to Señor Peña. It is from the king's minute for the reply to Mendoza's letter of 28 July/7 August, pp. 757–60.

I have seen what you have since reported about it and understand more clearly that it must exaggerate many things.... 5 September 1586.

137. $\frac{17}{27}$ SEPTEMBER 1586.

[VINCENZO GRADENIGO?] TO DOGE AND SENATE OF VENICE[1]

Drake went on to the town of St. Agostino in Florida. He took it with 15000 to 20,000 or more ducats and 250 pieces of artillery, merchandise, and bell metal. The total spoil is reckoned at 700,000 to 800,000 ducats.... [Madrid?]

138. [1586.]

THE RELATION OF PEDRO MORALES[2]

The relation of Pedro Morales a Spaniard, which sir Francis Drake brought from Saint Augustines in Florida, where he had remayned sixe yeeres, touching the state of those partes, taken from his mouth by Master Richard Hakluyt 1586.

Three score leagues vp to the Northwest from Saint Helena are the mountaines of the golde and Chrystall Mines, named Apalatci.[3]

[1] Extract. *Cal. S.P. Venetian, 1581–91*, p. 208. The truth was much less spectacular; cp. pp. 298, 305–6.

[2] Hakluyt, *Principal navigations*, III (1600), 361 (IX (1904), 112–13). This and the following document are not of Spanish origin, but they fit in best here, though they should also be regarded as part of the documentation of Drake's attack on Florida (pp. 251–3 above). Drake arrived with his prisoner at Plymouth at the end of July 1586, by which time Hakluyt was in England, and the deposition was made between then and his return to France, prior to 30 December (Parks, *Hakluyt*, p. 249). It and the following deposition are to be regarded as material supplementing Hakluyt's edition of Laudonnière which was at this time in preparation (cp. pp. 472–3, 545–52 above). Morales was probably one of the Spanish deserters mentioned in Wright, *Further English voyages*, pp. 182, 186.

[3] The 'Montes Apalatci', with appropriate legends, appear on Jacques Le Moyne's map of Florida (De Bry, *America*, pt. II (1591), pl. I; Lorant, *New world*, pp. 34–5). The name derived from the Apalachee tribe of Florida (Swanton, *Indians*, pp. 89–90, *Indian tribes*, pp. 122–5).

Wateri a goodly riuer.

The river of Wateri is thirtie leagues from S. Helena Northward, which is able to receiue any Fleete of ships of great burden.[1]

Wateri and Caiowa[2] are two kings, and two riuers to the North of Saint Helena.

Oristou,[3]
Ahoia,
Ahoiaue,
Isamacon,
Icosa or Dicosa[4]

} Kings and Riuers to the South of Saint Helena.[5]

The Spaniards haue killed three hundred of the subiects of Potanou.[6]

The greatest number of Spaniards that haue bene in Florida this sixe yeeres, was three hundred, and now they were but two hundred in both the Forts.

La grand Copal a rich citie.

There is a great City sixteene or twentie dayes iourney from Saint Helena Northwestward, which the Spaniards call La grand Copal,[7] which they thinke to bee very rich and exceeding great, and haue bene within the sight of it, some of them.

They haue offered in generall to the King to take no wages at all of him, if he will giue them leaue to discouer this citie, and the rich mountaines, and the passage to a sea or mighty Lake which

[1] This and the following paragraphs largely represent the results of the Pardo-Moyano expeditions of 1566–7 (for which see Swanton, *Indians*, pp. 64–9 and pp. 827–8 below). Wateri is their Guateri, the river may well be the Santee, and the harbour Winyah Bay.

[2] Guateri and Juada (Juora), Siouan tribes, Wateree and Cheraw, of South Carolina (Swanton, *Indians*, pp. 64–7, 109, 205, *Indian tribes*, pp. 76–7, 101–2).

[3] Orista, or Oristan was three leagues north of Santa Elena (Wright, *Further English voyages*, p. 191; Swanton, *Indians*, p. 18).

[4] Ahoya, Ahoyabe, Uscamacu and Coosa formed parts of the Cusabo, a Muskhogean tribe of South Carolina (Swanton, *Indians*, pp. 65, 67, 125, 128, *Indian tribes*, pp. 94–6; *Georgia H. Q.*, XXXVIII, 78).

[5] All these were to the north or north-west of Santa Elena.

[6] Potano, a Timucuan tribe of Florida (Swanton, *Indians*, pp. 173–4, *Indian tribes*, pp. 137–8). See Laudonnière, in Hakluyt, IX (1904), 21, 34, 56–8.

[7] The Chicola of Le Moyne's map (cp. p. 460 above), and apparently the seat of the Shakori (Chicora) tribe (Swanton, *Indians*, pp. 66, 183, *Indian tribes*, pp. 83–4).

they heare to be within foure and twenty dayes trauel from Saint Helena, which is in 32. degrees of latitude:[1] and is that riuer which the French called Port-royal.

He saith also that he hath seene a rich Diamond which was brought from the mountaines that lye vp in the countrey Westward from S. Helena. These hils seeme wholy to be the mountaines of Apalatci, whereof the Savages aduertised Laudonniere,[2] and it may bee they are the hils of Chaunis Temoatam, which Master Lane had aduertisement of.[3]

139. [1586.]

THE RELATION OF NICHOLAS BURGOIGNON[4]

The relation of Nicholas Burgoignon, aliâs Holy, whom sir Francis Drake brought from Saint Augustine also in Florida, where he had remayned sixe yeeres,[5] in mine and Master Heriots hearing.[6]

This Nicholas Burgoignon sayth, that betweene S. Augustine and S. Helen there is a Casique whose name is Casicôla,[7] which is lord of ten thousand Indians, and another casique whose name is

[1] 32° 26′ N. lat., the river being the Broad River.

[2] Hakluyt, *Principal navigations*, IX (1904), 55.

[3] Cp. p. 264 above. Hakluyt was right in essentials in that Lane's Roanoke River rose, like all the other important rivers of the eastern slope, in the Appalachians, but he had no idea of the distances involved. This sentence was Hakluyt's gloss on the deposition and was probably written at the time it was made rather than in 1600, since one purpose in taking the deposition was to obtain information useful for subsequent Virginia expeditions.

[4] Hakluyt, *Principal navigations*, III (1600), 361–2 (IX (1904), 113–15). Evidently taken, like the foregoing, between July and December 1586.

[5] He was apparently one of the four survivors of the expedition of Gilberto Gil in 1580 (*Colonial records of Spanish Florida, 1577–80*, ed. J. T. Connor (Florida State Hist. Soc., 1930), 318–23; Mary Ross, 'French intrusions . . . 1577–80', in *Georgia Hist. Q.*, VII (1923), 270–5; Quinn, 'Some Spanish reactions', in *Trans. R. Hist. S.*, 5th ser., I, 7). For the identification of him with the fifer who deserted at San Agustín cp. pp. 296–7, 304 above, and Wright, *Further English voyages*, p. 186.

[6] This is the earliest reference to Hariot's activities after he landed at Plymouth at the end of July 1586.

[7] For his conversion see p. 819 below.

Dicasca,[1] and another called Touppekyn[2] toward the North, and a fourth named Potanou[3] toward the South, and another called Moscita[4] toward the South likewise. Besides these he acknowledgeth Oristou, Ahoia, Ahoiaue, Isamacon, alledged by the Spaniard.[5]

He further affirmeth, that there is a citie Northwestward from S. Helenes in the mountaines, which the Spaniards call La grand Copal,[6] and is very great and rich, and that in these mountains there is great store of Christal, golde, and Rubies, and Diamonds: And that a Spaniard brought from thence a Diamond which was worth fiue thousand crownes, which Pedro Melendes the marques nephew to olde Pedro Melendes[7] that slew Ribault, & is now governer of Florida, weareth. He saith also, that to make passage vnto these mountaines, it is needefull to haue store of Hatchets to give vnto the Indians, and store of Pickaxes to breake the mountaines, which shine so bright in the day in some places, that they cannot behold them, and therefore they trauell vnto them by night. Also corslets of Cotton, which the Spanyards call Zecopitz,[8] are necessary to bee had against the arrowes of the Sauages.

He sayth farther, that a Tunne of the sassafras of Florida is solde in Spaine for sixtie ducates:[9] and that they haue there great store

[1] Of the Coosa sub-tribe (cp. p. 762, n. 4, above).

[2] Evidently Ribault's Touppa (cp. Hakluyt, VIII (1904), 474–5).

[3] Of the Potano tribe (cp. p. 762, n. 6, above).

[4] Probably the Mocossou of the Le Moyne map (De Bry, *America*, pt. ii, pl. 1), and the Moquoso of Laudonnière (Hakluyt, IX (1904), 21).

[5] Pedro Morales. Cp. p. 761 above.

[6] Hakluyt (VIII (1904), 466–7) identified La Grand Copal with Chiquola, which is Chicola on the Le Moyne map and is situated on a river which is either the Waccamaw—Pee Dee River entering Winyah Bay, or the Santee a little to the south.

[7] Pedro Menéndez Marqués, nephew of Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, the *adelantado*.

[8] Cp. the advocacy in 1600 of these *escupiles* instead of conventional armour, p. 830 below.

[9] At 6*s*. the ducat (cp. p. 220 above) this would give a price of £18 a ton. For the exploitation of sassafras in Florida by the Spaniards see Monardes, *Joyfull newes*, ed. S. Gaselee, I, 99–120.

of Turkie cocks,[1] of Beanes, of Peason, and that there are great store of pearles.

The things, as he reporteth, that the Floridians make most account of, are red Cloth, or redde Cotton to make baudricks or gyrdles: copper, and hatchets to cut withall.

The Spaniards haue all demaunded leaue at their owne costs, to discouer these mountaines, which the King denyeth, for feare lest the English or French would enter into the same action, once knowen.

All the Spaniards would passe vp by the river of Saint Helena[2] vnto the mountaines of golde and Chrystall.

The Spaniards entring 50. leagues vp Saint Helena, found Indians wearing golde rings at their nostrels[3] and eares. They found also Oxen, but lesse then ours.[4] *Oxen.*

Sixe leagues from Saint Helena toward the North, there is a poynt that runneth farre into the sea,[5] which is the marke to the Seamen to finde Saint Helena and Waterin.

Waterin is a river fortie leagues distant Northward from Saint Helena, where any fleete of great ships may ride safely.[6] I take this riuer to be that which we call Waren in Virginia,[7] whither at Christmasse last 1585.[8] the Spaniards sent a barke with fortie men

[1] Le Moyne left us an illustration of the turkey but White did not (cp. p. 358 above).

[2] Broad River.

[3] Swanton (*Indians*, pp. 514-15) found no evidence for nose ornaments among the Florida–South Carolina Indians, but he did not discuss this reference.

[4] The Spanish view that small oxen were to be found in North America is not easily explained. Amongst so many other things David Ingram found cattle in North America (Quinn, *Gilbert*, II, 290, 305).

[5] Cape Romain (lat. 32° 58′ N.), though the distance is not adequate.

[6] Cp. 'Guatary' (the same?), 80 leagues from Santa Elena (*Georgia H. Q.*, XXXVIII, 79–80). Winyah Bay, much nearer, may be intended.

[7] This is Hakluyt interpolating a personal comment. His 'Waren' is the 'Warreā' of the September 1585 sketch-map (pp. 215-16 above), possibly the Cwareuuoc of De Bry (p. 872 below), but this is on Bogue Sound. Hakluyt probably made this comment in 1586 and was merely guessing the distances, not having yet studied the maps made on the spot by White and others.

[8] Indicating that the examination took place before 25 December 1586.

to discouer where we were seated: in which barke was Nicholas Burgoignon the reporter of all these things.[1]

The Spaniards of S. Augustine haue slaine three hundred of the subjects of Potanou. One Potassi[2] is neighbour to Potanou. Oratina is he which the French history calleth Olata Outina.[3]

Calauai[4] is another casique which they knowe.

140. $\frac{5}{15}$ JANUARY 1587.

GABRIEL DE LÚXAN TO PHILIP II[5]

Sacred Catholic royal majesty:—By a caravel under the command of Gonçalo Hernández, which came with news to this port on December 13, I received your majesty's despatch, dated September 5, in which your majesty instructs me to give information about the French ships that have crossed to these parts and bids me to be prepared as though they were coming straight against this place.[6] And although, even in ordinary times I am prepared,

[1] Menéndez Marqués, when he returned from Havana to Florida in June heard a rumour from the Indians of ships passing along the Florida coast and his letter to this effect reached Havana by 24 October (Wright, *Further English voyages*, p. xxii, n. 3). In Spain his failure to return from Florida was taken as a bad omen (cp. pp. 744–5 above). In fact, he appears to have waited until the hurricane season was over (cp. p. 781 below), and then sent an expedition northwards. We know nothing of it apart from what is said here, but again the presumption is that the vessel was instructed to search the harbours and estuaries north of Santa Elena, where the French had penetrated in 1577–80—probably the reason why the Frenchman was taken. It is unlikely, in this event, that the reconnaissance was pursued north of Cape Fear. [2] Not identified.

[3] Laudonnière (Hakluyt, IX (1904), 20–1, 55–9, 62–72) gives a number of references to Utina. He and his tribe (the Timucua or Utina tribe) dominated the middle course of the St John's River (Swanton, *Indians*, pp. 201–2).

[4] Possibly of the Calany tribe mentioned by Laudonnière (Hakluyt, IX (1904), 21).

[5] Translated. Seville, A.G.I. 54. 1. 15 (Audiencia de Santo Domingo. Cartas y expedientes remitidos por los gobernadores de la Habana y Cuba. Vistos en el Consejo desde el año de 1522 à 1599); copy in Library of Congress, Transcripts, A.G.I., General Series.

[6] Information has not been found about French privateering threats in 1587, but an example of French activity in Cuba in 1586 is given by C. Fernández Duro, *La armada española*, II (1896), 399.

as it befits an official in your majesty's service to be, and I keep good watch on this territory, yet I immediately sent word to all localities in this island to count and review the inhabitants and to equip those of them who were most suited to give military aid in your majesty's service on the present occasion. This has now been done and all is made ready for the camp marshal's departure by ship (which will be in some five or six days' time) to bring the recruits here.

The news that we have from Bayaha, which I have already communicated to you,[1] makes us certain that some large fleet is concentrating at that part of the Florida coast which is being settled, in order to descend from there on this port; for, when Francis Drake passed through he threatened that it would come this year to take this port.[2] Of this we have been told by creole negroes who escaped from him in Florida,[3] and also by some sailors who, likewise, escaped from him at Cape Sant Anton, and whose depositions I sent your majesty a little time ago.[4]...Havana, 15 January 1587.

[*Signed and sealed:*] Gabriel de Lúxan

[1] Evidently Bayaha, Hispaniola (cp. Wright, *Further English voyages*, p. 225), but the document referred to and the source of the information about the English settlement have not been found. Wright, op. cit. pp. 230–1, summarizes what was known at Havana of the English settlement by March 1587.

[2] This is the clearest statement that Drake made a direct threat to return in 1587. Cp. also Wright, *Further English voyages*, pp. lxvii, 207, 228. A plan alleged to have been drawn up by Drake and Hawkins for attacks on the Indies in 1587 (sent from Paris to Spain on 28 January/7 February, *Cal. S.P. Spain, 1587–1603*, pp. 20–3) included the following pieces of advice:

'You may leave the Indies from June to the middle of August, and go to Newfoundland where you may get victuals, and capture a great number of Spaniards, Biscayners and others. From there go to the great Bay, where you may take very many Biscayners who fish there. By calculating the times and places set forth above you may capture so many ships and Spaniards that they will not recover the loss for years if you take care to deprive them of their sails.' It is necessary to go to the West Indies by way of the Cape Verde Islands before September owing to storms and heavy seas. 'It is necessary also to pass the Gulf of Florida at the very latest in July, as the hurricanes are heavy there in August.'

[3] Wright, *Further English voyages*, pp. 181, 185–6, 206, 230.

[4] Wright, *Further English voyages*, pp. 166–9.

141. 21 FEBRUARY / 3 MARCH 1587.

HIERONIMO LIPPOMANI TO THE DOGE AND SENATE OF VENICE[1]

'In Florida there are some English ships, and it seems that at the extremity of the island,[2] where there is a narrow strait, the enemy intend to build a fort. If they make themselves masters of this position, and plant themselves there, it will be a very severe blow to this Crown, which will be obliged to send out a fleet to destroy them, so as to avoid leaving the Peruvian and New Spanish fleets exposed to so manifest a danger in their usual passage through that strait.'...Madrid.

142. 16 / 26 MAY 1587.

PHILIP II'S MINUTE TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL OF THE INDIES[3]

(This is Joan de Ibarra's paper, sealed; along with that great decision, in his majesty's hands. He requests that your majesty answer it and send it back.)

In the deliberations that are to begin in the *Junta de Puerto Rico*[4] it should be noted that all possible haste has been and is being made to enable the fleet to sail, since the importance of the matter is

[1] Extract. *Cal. S.P. Venetian, 1581–91*, p. 250.

[2] 'che al capo dell' Isola'. He would appear to mean at the southern tip of the Florida peninsula.

[3] Translated. Brit. Mus., Additional MS 28363, fo. 86. This document was evidently removed from the Archives of the Indies. It is the king's comment on a paper of advice tendered by Juan de Ibarra, secretary of the council of the Indies, made to the president of the council, Fernando de Vega y Fonseca (cp. Gayangos, *Catalogue of the Spanish MSS in the Brit. Mus.*, III, 93).

[4] The recently established executive committee of the Council of the Indies designed to deal rapidly and effectively with threats from English and French privateers in the West Indies (cp. Haring, *Spanish empire in America*, p. 108; Merriman, *Rise of the Spanish empire*, IV, 201–3).

understood, and these efforts will continue until its despatch at the earliest possible moment.[1]

In the deliberations which begin today the *Junta de Puerto Rico* should consider the importance of the rumour—if it is true—about the English viscount.[2] It is to be feared that, if he has established a settlement on the Florida coast, the fact that he has changed its site is no indication of a decision to abandon it, but rather [of his intention] to improve its position.[3] And while there is any doubt on this point it will be well for the *Junta* to consider what counteraction can be taken, and to advise his majesty.

Respecting the communication of Joan de Ibarra,[4] what he says is very true. His majesty will be fully advised, with all zeal, and an effort will be made to seek diligently and find a remedy for our difficulties. Aranjues. 26 May 1587.

143. 28 JUNE – 8 JULY 1587.

MIGUEL DE OQUENDO TO ANDRES DE ALVA[5]

Accordingly he[6] declared that one who was coming from Puerto Rico in a ship laden with sugar had been taken by three English ships[7] . . . and that these ships were on their way to Florida

[1] The emergency was that arising from Drake's attack on Cadiz. Its effect in disrupting the American fleets in 1587 is indicated in Merriman, *Rise of the Spanish empire*, IV, 520; Fernández Duro, *Armada española*, II, 983; *Documentos inéditos de Indias*, 2nd ser., XIV, 293.

[2] Evidently Sir Richard Grenville.

[3] This appears to imply that some information on the proposed transference of the colony from Roanoke Island to Chesapeake Bay had reached Spain, but what the Spaniards knew at this time about the results of Drake's removal of Lane's colony and of Grenville's expedition in 1586 is not clear (cp. Wright, *Further English voyages*, pp. 230–1).

[4] His memorandum is not available, but it probably dealt in a general manner with the problem of safeguarding the Spanish possessions.

[5] Extract, translated. Library of Congress, Lowery Collection, III (1580–97) (copied from Museo Naval, Madrid, Colección Sanz Barutell, A. 6, no. 94).

[6] Evidently the writer of the letter. He commanded a squadron in the Armada 1588 (Merriman, *Rise of the Spanish empire*, IV, 531, 552).

[7] This rather inconclusive extract is inserted only because it may be that this represents a prize taken by Sir George Carey's ships under William Irish (cp.

where they had left 500 soldiers and had founded forts.... San Sebastian, 8 July 1587.

144. $\frac{2}{12}$ DECEMBER 1587.

HIERONIMO LIPPOMANI TO THE DOGE AND SENATE OF VENICE[1]

'The King is thinking of building three or four forts in Florida, and he has the plans in his rooms. Battista Antonelli is the engineer.'[2] ...Madrid.

145. $\frac{27 \text{ FEBRUARY}}{9 \text{ MARCH}}$ 1588.

FRANCISCO DE VALVERDE AND PEDRO DE SANTA CRUZ TO [ ][3]

James Lomas might be treated in the same way and be held for the liberation of two poor pilots of the Indies service who were captured by one Richard Grinfil who lives in Cornwall in this country. He is a corsair and brought to England twenty-two Spaniards whom he treats as slaves are treated in Algiers, making them carry on their backs all day stones and other materials for a certain building, and at night he chains them up. Twenty of them

p. 543 above). If so, it indicates they were an advance contingent of the White expedition and intended to utilize the English settlement on the American coast. This is, in fact, stated by Darby Glande (cp. pp. 835–6).

[1] Extract. *Cal. S.P. Venetian, 1581–91*, p. 329.

[2] Juan Bautista Antoneli, *el engeniero*, and Juan de Texeda, *maestre de campo*, were sent out with the fleet in 1586 to survey sites for fortifications in the West Indies, the Main and Florida. They returned to Spain with plans in September 1587 (Joan de Castellanos, *Discurso de el Capitan Francisco Draque*, ed. Ángel González Palencia (Madrid, 1921), pp. cii–iii; Wright, *Further English voyages*, pp. lxvi–vii, lxxiv; Hakluyt, *Principal navigations*, x (1904), 135–56, 159–62). The extract would suggest that it was already contemplated that Spain should, having destroyed the English settlement, build a chain of forts along the American coast, as was planned in 1589 (cp. pp. 828–32 below).

[3] Extract, translated, Simancas, Estado K. 1564, no. 100–168 (*Cal. S.P. Spain, 1587–1603*, p. 220). The two men are evidently writing to the Spanish embassy in Paris about the possibility of arranging exchanges of prisoners.

have died or escaped, but he still keeps the two pilots.[1] But as you hold the said James, we could undoubtedly be freed, but only by his release.[2]...London, 27 February 1588.[3]

[1] One was Pedro Diaz, who was soon to seize an opportunity to escape (pp. 794–5 below; Wright, *Further English voyages*, pp. 237–41). Mr Rowse is unable to determine whether the building operations were taking place at Bideford or elsewhere (*Grenville*, p. 250), but the implications in Diaz's report are that he was kept continuously at Bideford.

[2] Having suggested that the prisoner Lomas be exchanged against Grenville's pilots the writers here switch to a request that he should be exchanged for themselves.

[3] Being written in England the dating is likely to be Old Style.

CHAPTER XII

SPAIN AND VIRGINIA, 1588-1600

It is fitting that your majesty should try to master that land very soon, if only for the reason that it is a country so large and in such a good latitude that if some other nations go to settle it, forming a friendship, as they will, with the local Indians, it will, thereafter, be most difficult to conquer and rule it, especially should the French and English settle it, as they are Lutheran peoples, and, because they and the Indians are nearly of the one faith, as I have said, they will very easily make friends with one another.

PEDRO MENÉNDEZ DE AVILÉS TO PHILIP II[1]

Much ado about nothing.
Great warres & no blowes.
Who is the foole now.[2]

NARRATIVE

1588 was the year when Spain made most progress in tracking down the presumed English settlement on the North American coast, but its eventual location did not lead, as was anticipated, to its destruction and the creation of a Spanish fortress on Chesapeake Bay. The English were preoccupied with the sea-war against Spain in European waters and failed to keep their colony alive, let alone reinforce it. The Spaniards, involved in the Armada and in subsequent fleet-building projects, were prevented alike from searching for the English settlement and substituting one of their own.

The Spanish programme was initiated by instructions sent by the duke of Medina Sidonia to Pedro Menéndez Marqués, following receipt of a report on the unsuccessful reconnaissance of 1587, that he was to be ready to leave on a further search for the English colony by 15/25 May 1588.[3] Though they have not been

[1] E. Ruidíaz y Caravia, *Florida*, II, 324 (from A.G.I., Patronato 1. 1. 1/19); G. Solís de Merás, *Pedro Menéndez de Avilés*, ed. J. T. Connor (1923), p. 33.

[2] A slip attached by Thomas Hariot to Brit. Mus., Additional MS 6785, fo. 436.

[3] Document no. 146, p. 779 below.

found we learn that final sailing orders were to arrive at San Agustín before then, with shipping to implement them, and that the English settlement was to be liquidated when found, and, possibly, a Spanish post established in its place.

The governor of Florida waited in vain for further instructions until about 7/17 June 1588. He then equipped for a reconnaissance a small bark which had come with despatches. Captain Vicente González, who had been at Chesapeake Bay in 1570–2, took thirty men, including the governor's nephew, Juan Menéndez Marqués, with instructions to run up the coast to lat. 39° N. Calling frequently at the inlets north of Santa Elena as far, probably, as Winyah Bay without hearing of the English, they noted two harbours in the Carolina Outer Banks but did not investigate them. At 37° González entered Chesapeake Bay (the Bay of Madre de Dios of Jacan of the Spaniards) where it was assumed that the English settlement was most likely to be located.[1] His swift and skilful exploration of the Bay is described by Father Oré from Juan Menéndez Marqués's still-undiscovered narrative.[2] The search on the western shore seems to have been a thorough one, apparently extending to the north of the Susquehanna River at the end of the Bay, then, more hastily, down the island-strewn eastern shore, crossing from time to time to the west, and out again to the open sea, with once more no trace being found of the English colony. González did not attempt to sail northwards outside the Eastern Shore, but, turning south, he encountered very heavy winds. Taking down his ship's mast, his crew rowed her to safety through an entry in the Carolina Banks. Here fortune favoured him, as he had by chance arrived at Port Ferdinando, one of the two inlets leading through the Banks to Roanoke Island. He soon discovered traces of the colonists,[3] a slipway for small vessels, and some barrels sunk in the sand to catch water. He made no attempt to investigate further, observing only that the Sound stretched far to the north-west. He took his latitude as 35° 30′ N. (for 35° 50′)

[1] Document no. 155, pp. 816–21, supplemented by no. 156, pp. 822–5.
[2] Document no. 154, pp. 802–16 below. [3] Cp. p. 811 below.

and made his way rapidly back to San Agustín where he arrived well before the end of July, after a voyage lasting less than six weeks and conducted with considerable skill. As a result of it the Spaniards at last knew the approximate location of the English settlement, though it was puzzling to them that no fort was seen.

Pedro Menéndez Marqués, meantime, had gone to Havana to attempt to find out what had become of his instructions. On 17/27 July he wrote that they had still not arrived, but that small English vessels were active off Cuba, and he believed these must be based on the mainland colony.[1] He returned to San Agustín and there received full reports of the González expedition. Soon afterwards his instructions came at last. They gave him no guidance on his proposed expedition, merely ordering him to return to Spain at once. With his nephew, he set out on 28 October/7 November, but was once again unfortunate, being driven back to the West Indies where he once more put in at Havana, and was detained there for some months.[2] While he was waiting, new information of value to him was turning up. In the first place Alonso Ruiz was able to give an account of how in 1587 Sir George Carey's privateers had touched at 'the Bay of Santa Maria in latitude 37°' and found some traces of the colonists.[3] This must have suggested that, after all, the English were on the Chesapeake Bay as well as near Port Ferdinando. Much more important was the story told by the pilot Pedro Diaz on 21/31 March 1589.[4] His story of Grenville's voyage in 1586, of White's colony of 1587, and of the unavailing attempt to send relief to it in 1588 was almost all new to the Spaniards. The revelation of the small scale of the English enterprises must have been very reassuring, as must the news that White's colony of 1587, if it survived at all, was bound to be in a poor way. Finally, he put the finishing touch to the work of the González expedition by his news that the Roanoke fort was inside the Sound and not visible from the Outer Banks. González's information was now shown to provide the key to the

[1] Document no. 146, pp. 780–1 below.
[2] P. 803.
[3] Document no. 147, pp. 781–4.
[4] Document no. 149, pp. 786–95.

understanding of the English puzzle, while Diaz, as a pilot who had been there in 1586, could guide a Spanish expedition to the Roanoke fort. Consequently, arrangements were made to ship him to Spain. Pedro Menéndez Marqués went quickly back to Florida, probably to reassure the garrison that it was in no present danger from English attacks, and sailed with his nephew direct to Spain on 18/28 May, arriving at San Lucár on 5/15 July.[1]

Only the bare outline of what occurred in Spain is known. Pedro Menéndez Marqués reported his arrival at Seville,[2] and at Madrid he appeared before the Council of the Indies, while Juan Menéndez Marqués gave a verbal account of the 1588 voyage to two of the king's ministers, Juan de Idiaquez and Juan de Ibarra.[3] The council clearly considered that action was urgent, apparently rather to forestall further English settlements than to deal with the colony which it was assumed still existed. Pedro Menéndez Marqués was ordered to prepare an expedition in Spain, with four supply ships, soldiers and stores. With these he would sail to Havana and there pick up the galleys belonging to that station, with further supply vessels. Thence he would proceed to San Agustín, taking only the galleys over the shallow bar, and exchange his fresh troops for seasoned men of the garrison. The whole expedition would then proceed to Roanoke Island, liquidate the English post, and go on to Chesapeake Bay where a strong fortress with a garrison of 300 men was to be established.[4]

These plans were, however, soon seen to be less urgent than the maintenance of the flow of treasure from the New World to Spain which had been jeopardized by the English blockade. Pedro Menéndez Marqués was transferred to take charge of two of the new fast-sailing frigates which left Spain on 10/20 May 1590, and returned with the treasure on 4/14 September following.[5] The North American expedition, first postponed, was then abandoned,

[1] Documents nos. 150, 154, pp. 796, 813–14 below.
[2] Document no. 150, p. 796 below; Wright, *Further English voyages*, p. lxx.
[3] Document no. 155, pp. 816–17 below.
[4] Pp. 817–18 below.
[5] Document no. 154, pp. 814–15 below; *Coll. doc. inéditos de Indias*, 2nd ser., XIV, 93.

so that when John White found, in July 1590, that the third colony had disappeared, it had not, at least, been overwhelmed by the Spaniards.[1]

This did not, however, represent the last word on the Spanish reactions to the English attempt at colonization. Florida remained a neglected outpost during the years when Spain was effectively fortifying her more important colonies against the English attacks. The defeat of the Drake-Hawkins enterprise of 1595–6 marked the passing of the climax. It was after this that a new governor of Florida, Gonzalo Méndez de Canzo, aspired to revive support for that colony. In 1598 he gathered together old and new reports of the potential riches of the undeveloped hinterland to the north and west of the colony, and these interested the government of the new king (Philip III) sufficiently to lead to orders being sent on 9/19 November 1598 to the Florida governor[2] to assemble such further information as he could and to make suggestions about possible developments. In the course of the investigation Méndez de Canzo discovered in his garrison, the Irishman, Darby Glande, who had deserted White in Puerto Rico in 1587. After a spell in the galleys, he had become a soldier, and had come eventually to Florida as a member of its garrison. Glavin told the governor[3] of his experiences as a member of Lane's colony on Roanoke during 1585–6, lacing his story with tales of gold and pearls which had, he said, been discovered. He expressed his belief that White's 1587 colony was still there, and he believed, on the strength of information picked up from survivors of Richard Hawkins's 1594 expedition, that in that year English reinforcements had sailed to the Virginia colony. This gave Méndez de Canzo the excuse for which he was seeking. Without checking this story with that of Juan Menéndez Marqués, who was now serving as treasurer at San Agustín and who knew much more than Glande about the Roanoke colonies, the governor proceeded to map out an elaborate pro-

[1] At that time Spanish officials in the West Indies still considered the English settlement to be an active menace which ought to be wiped out (pp. 799–80).

[2] Cp. p. 826 below.

[3] Pp. 834–8 below.

gramme for Spanish expansion. His despatch of 28 February/9 March 1600 proposed an expedition of 1000 men which would go north and wipe out the English, who, Glande believed, had moved to Chesapeake Bay, and establish a strong fortress there from which a land route to New Mexico could rapidly be opened up.[1] This done, the governor settled down to search for further information on Virginia but failed to find any.[2] It was probably his report, however, which led to the interrogation of Vicente González, whose rambling reminiscences of the 1588 voyage added little of value beyond a hazy notion that the English had then been on Chesapeake Bay north of the 38th parallel.[3]

The Spanish government was now able, from earlier information and through published accounts,[4] to discount Méndez de Canzo's proposals, and did nothing to prepare the expedition he desired. Instead, a commission was sent from Cuba which at least inspired Juan Menéndez Marqués to furnish some information on the 1588 voyage,[5] and, on 20 30 September 1602, to write a lengthy report on the coast and harbours north of Florida.[6] Two days later Méndez de Canzo completed a long despatch to the Crown.[7] This revealed that so far from proposing to extend its commitments in North America the Spanish government was considering abandoning Florida altogether. The governor was now clearly discouraged. He repeated the stock arguments that Florida was a useful base for rescuing Spanish ships and sailors, a mission centre, and starting-point for the future exploitation of eastern North America, but it was, he recognized, of comparatively little value. He did not even think the English would find it worth while to

[1] Pp. 824–32 below.

[2] Pp. 838, represents the only addition he was able to make to the discussion.

[3] Pp. 822–5 below.

[4] See above, pp. 7–8, for information of what was now in print.

[5] He gives an extract from his evidence on pp. 818–21 below.

[6] Document no. 155, pp. 816–17 below (which he repeated again in 1606 and 1608, cp. p. 816 below).

[7] 12/22 September 1602. Library of Congress, Lowery Transcripts, IV (copied from A.G.I. 54. 5. 9).

step in to occupy it if the Spaniards left. There were no harbours suitable for large vessels; the country-side could not supply food, to support a settlement; San Agustín itself was of little use as a base against the treasure fleets or the Indies.[1]

With this anticlimax the first chapter of Spain's concern with eastern North America closes. The counterplay of English and Spanish interests in this area is one of sharp contrasts of emphasis. In 1590 the Spaniards were about to root out and supplant the English settlement to the north of Florida when it had, in fact, faded into the American wilderness. In 1602 the Spaniards were contemplating abandoning their own colony of Florida at the very moment when the English were beginning to revive, on a very small scale, their North American voyages. Spanish Florida, though it was not abandoned, remained quiescent in the early seventeenth century. Not so the English. From 1607 onwards the permanent settlements which went to make the Thirteen Colonies were built up steadily. Though Spaniards had some desire, and even plans, to retard the English in the seventeenth century their chance had gone. By failing to forestall the English on Chesapeake Bay in 1590 Spain became a minor, not a major, factor in eastern North American history.

146. 7/17 JULY 1588.

PEDRO MENÉNDEZ MARQUÉS TO PHILIP II[2]

Sire,

In the month of February last I gave your majesty an account of how I had removed the people, the artillery and the military

[1] Cp. Wright, *Further English voyages*, p. 187.

[2] Translated. Library of Congress, Lowery Transcripts, III (from A.G.I. 54. 5. 9, Audiencia de Santo Domingo, Cartas y expedientes de Gobernadores de la Florida vistas en el Consejo desde 1568 a 1671). This was first printed in translation by Buckingham Smith, in *The Historical Magazine and Notes and Queries*, 1st ser., III (N.Y., 1859), 275–6, and is discussed by L. D. Scisco, 'The voyage of Vicente Gonzales in 1588', in *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XLII (1947), 96 (cp. Lewis and Loomie, *Spanish Jesuit mission*, p. 190).

stores from Santa Elena to San Agustín, and had gone on to erect the great fort there.[1] After that, while it was being completed, I sent Captain Bicente Goncalez and a nephew of mine[2] in a bark, very fast of sail and oar,[3] to run along the coast to 39° which is beyond the bay of Santa Maria. He took thirty competent men with him so that if the English were settling there, he might find out what was happening. He set out at a good time at the beginning of June.[4] I took this precaution because the duke of Medina Sidonia had written to me[5] to be ready by May 15 to undertake the journey in person and to go along the shore as far as the island of San Juan[6] so that we should know once and for all what is on the coast: and I was to go from thence to give an account to your majesty of what should be done. I got ready accordingly, awaiting the order to leave, until June 7, and then, seeing that it did not arrive and time was passing, I decided to send one of the vessels which I had intended to take. This was the one in which Bicente Goncalez set sail, under orders to go as far as 39° to find out what

[1] The despatch has not been seen. Santa Elena was evacuated as a measure of consolidation after Drake's destruction of San Agustín. The new fort at the capital was one of a series designed by Antoneli (cp. pp. 724, 770 above).

[2] Juan Menéndez Marqués.

[3] 'un barco muy lixero de cela y remo', otherwise a 'barco luengo', which had come from San Lucár with despatches (pp. 796, 804 below).

[4] 'towards the end of May', p. 804 below.

[5] This despatch has not been seen. Alonso Pérez de Guzman, duke of Medina Sidonia was admiral (second-in-command) until he succeeded Santa Cruz in the naval high command on 21 March 1588 (Merriman, *Rise of the Spanish empire*, IV, 528–9). It is significant of the importance the Spanish government attached to the destruction of the English settlement that such an order should have been sent in the Armada year. Menéndez Marqués may have gone to Havana not merely to receive his final instructions, but also in the hope of obtaining soldiers and stores from the fleets when they assembled there (cp. pp. 751, 817).

[6] Henry Harrisse, *Découverte et évolution cartographique de Terre-Neuve* (1900), pp. 88, 122–31, concluded that the mysterious St John's Island which appeared on so many sixteenth-century maps was intended to represent the north-eastern portion of Cape Breton Island. It was, however, described in Hakluyt's recently discovered report of Étienne Bellinger's voyage in 1583 as 'within .50. or threscore Leagues to the west and by south of Cape Briton' (Brit. Mus., Additional MS 14027, fo. 289), and might therefore be regarded as the southern portion of Nova Scotia, between the Bay of Fundy and the Atlantic.

was to be discovered, and I believe it should have returned by now to San Agustín. On my return to Florida I will give an account to your majesty at the first opportunity of what occurred, sending a packet boat if the matter appears to be important.

In Florida there is a sailor, Carlos Morera, who says that it is certain that, in the island of San Juan, close to the Bacallaos, there is an English settlement, for two years ago, this sailor, being in London, there came a ship from that settlement in which was a friend of this sailor who told him positively that they were settling on this island at 43°, that there were a great many Indians there, and that it was only eight leagues from the mainland.[1] And of this he is certain. Of all this I will give an account to your majesty as I have said.

I being about to set out, on July 10, there arrived at Harcos, about twelve leagues from this port, four ships and a pinnace belonging to the English[2] who, landing, seized some meat and took two men from whom they learnt what was going on. Our galleys tried to put to sea, but there was such a strong north-easterly wind that they could not do anything, even leave the harbour.[3] Meantime, two ships from the Islands,[4] laden with wines, making for here were chased by them [the English]. One got away but the other was forced to run ashore a league from this port. She was boarded from the pinnace and some small boats and was being despoiled when Captain Tomas Bernaldo, with 100 men, came to her assistance by land, having left the fortress and headland

[1] We have no information of an English expedition to New England or Cape Breton in or near 1586. Tentatively we may conclude that Morera had some contact with a member of Drake's fleet (or indeed of Grenville's at the end of 1585) who told him of the Roanoke settlement but confused him by a reference to St John's, Newfoundland.

[2] Wright, *Further English voyages*, pp. lxxi, 234–7, supplies additional details of the activities of these vessels. She considers they were Sir George Carey's, but they are almost certainly John Watts's *Examiner* and her consorts (pp. 556–7 above).

[3] The *San Agustín* and the *Brava*, the two galleys on the Havana station since 1586 (cp. p. 739, n. 5).

[4] The Canaries.

protected.[1] He forced them to quit the prize from which only a few things of little importance had been taken. The rest of her cargo he had brought in here. The English cleared off after four days and have not reappeared, but it is suspected that they are lying in wait at the mouth of the channel for our ships....[2]

I have a strong suspicion that these ships are from the Florida settlement because I cannot believe that they would be allowed to leave England at this season.[3] Besides they are small ships and are not taking hides but money. It will be necessary to find out their secret next year, since your majesty's instructions have not arrived up to now, July 17, and on the Florida coast winter begins in August.[4] I will procure the necessary knowledge and give an account of it to your majesty. Our Lord guard and prosper the royal catholic person of your majesty for many and happy years as Christendom requires.

From La Habana, 17 July 1588,
Pedro Menéndez Marqués

147. $\frac{12}{22}$ JULY 1588.

PEDRO DE ARAÑA TO JUAN DE IBARRA[5]

To Juan de Ybarra of the king's council and his secretary for the Indies, forests and works.

[1] La Fuerza, the fortress of Havana, and Punta Ycacos to the west of it.

[2] The text continues here: 'que son siete dios [dias?] los encamine', which is corrupt.

[3] The continuing belief of the Spaniards that a primary purpose of the English North American settlements was to act as a base for privateering in the Indies is here well illustrated (cp. pp. 721–5, 772–6 above).

[4] 'el ynbierno en entrado agosto', a curiously expressed opinion. Evidently he means the hurricane season (cp. p. 767 above). In 1585 he had waited until December to send a ship northwards to look for Grenville's settlement (p. 765 above).

[5] Translated. Seville, A.G.I. 54. 1. 54 (Audiencia de Santo Domingo 118. Cartas y expedientes de los oficiales de Cuba y Habana vistos en el consejo desde el año 1529 á 1599); copy in Library of Congress, Transcripts, A.G.I., General Series. Printed in Wright, *Further English voyages*, pp. 233–5.

Alonso Ruiz, sailor, born in Cartagena and brought up in Havana, was taken by the English in June 1587 in Captain Francisco de Avalos' frigate near the entrance to Matanças harbour.[1] He was brought to England with others, whence he found his way back to this port in a manner which will be told herein[2]. . . . I understand that they sailed in[3] . . . making their way along the Florida coast until they came to the Bay of Santa Maria in latitude 37° [N.].[4] There they stayed to take in water and found traces of cattle and a stray dark-brown mule.[5] I take it from these indications that this is part of the coast where the English were colonising. I have also had news that the native inhabitants proved hostile to the English and that Francisco Draque carried away those of his countrymen who had survived.[6] I have been anxious to tell you this because of his majesty's interest in finding out where the English were settling and the location of their settlement.[7] The sailor says they were three days in the Bay, after which they set

[1] About thirty miles east of Havana (cp. p. 607 above).

[2] Document damaged. No indication of what is missing can be given.

[3] Document damaged. It is likely that only the number of ships is lacking.

[4] The Bay was, by Spanish reckoning, Chesapeake Bay, and the latitude was correct (cp. pp. 502–3), yet it is not certain that the ships called somewhere in the vicinity of Lynnhaven, or at one of the entrances through the Carolina Banks to Roanoke Island.

[5] 'y hallaron rrastro de ganado bacuno y vn mulo erado alasan', which Miss Wright translates (*Further English voyages*, p. 234) as 'There they found signs of horned cattle and a branded mule'. The discovery is a puzzling one, complicated by lack of any indication of the date of this visit, but it was arranged before the ships left England (cp. p. 499). It is not certain whether it occurred before John White arrived at Port Ferdinando with the third colony on 22 July/1 August or after his departure on 28 August/7 September (pp. 503, 522–36 above), though the former is much the more probable. If so, the animals must have been remnants of those of the first colony of 1585–6, found either on Hatarask or Etacrewac Islands in the Banks (as relics of the Roanoke Island settlement, where Grenville's men of the second colony had been recently) or else on the southern shore of Chesapeake Bay, about Lynnhaven Bay, where an English party had spent the winter of 1585–6 (cp. pp. 244–6, 257). A further deposition by Ruiz, if found, would probably clear up these points.

[6] The earliest indication that the news of Drake's removal of the first colony had percolated back to the West Indies.

[7] Cp. pp. 722–4 above.

sail again with one of the Santo Domingo ships taken near Matanças.[1] The English had awaited the Santo Domingo squadron at the Cayo Romano, where they took three frigates, one a packet boat and the other two traders. Near Matanças they got two more, not including Francisco de Abalos' vessel.[2]

After leaving the Bay they sailed as far as the Newfoundland Banks whence they proceeded until they sighted Ireland and, at a port towards the south called Vilar,[3] they took in water and told the inhabitants that they had come from the Indies. Thence they crossed in a night and a day to England, to the city of Brestol, where they sold all the merchandise taken by the vessels which were three in number.[4] Their pilot was a Portuguese mulatto called Domingo Diaz who had served as a pilot on the Indies route. From the information this sailor had given me, Dias is a lutheran, a native of Abero,[5] having been born under the town's gates. He is some forty years of age, with grizzled hair, squat, and with a broad face. This man said that he was pilot of the packet-boat which the marquis of Santa Crus despatched in 1586 to Santo Domingo when Francisco Draque was sailing in these parts.

The seaman, with thirteen other fellows, was set at liberty three months after his arrival in England. They were taken across to Abra[6] without charge, and made their way to Brittany, to the city of Samalo[7] where they embarked for San Lucar. At that port he signed on as a sailor in Domingo Gonzales' vessel which put in at a place a league from here, fleeing from the English who were in pursuit, as his majesty has been informed by letter.[8] These

[1] It is unlikely that in three days they did much exploration or that they careened any of their vessels. Probably taking in water and fuel occupied them. The vessel was probably that brought home (cp. p. 543).

[2] The crews had tried to scare the Spaniards on Puerto Rico by saying that an English fleet was making for their capital (Wright, *Further English voyages*, pp. 231–2, cp. also p. lxx).

[3] Berehaven.

[4] The *Swallow* brought in the prize-goods and prizes (p. 543 above). Whether she was accompanied by the *Commander* and the *Gabriel* we cannot say.

[5] Aveiro, Portugal.

[6] Le Havre.

[7] St Malo.

[8] Not found by Miss Wright (*Further English voyages*, p. 234, no. 2), though see pp. 235–6.

English vessels are the ones which last year lay in wait for the Santo Domingo squadron, which escaped by the device of each vessel coming through separately. It was difficult enough navigating the old channel where I have heard that since last year the English had been waiting for the *flota*. I reported this to the *Audiencia* who, apparently, overlooked my report. That information I had from a Portuguese pilot whom the English had captured and who was very experienced in navigating these seas. To him the English revealed what they intended to do this year. They did not take him with them because he became seriously ill and, half-dead, he was thrown into a small boat.[1] I won his friendship and he told me all which I reported to those mentioned above. God has been pleased to save the Santo Domingo ships from these robbers this time. As for next year, it will be well that his majesty should order the ships to come by way of Cape San Anton, waiting there for our own galleys and those from Santo Domingo which would accompany them as far as the Cape of Tiburon if they are able to come out.

The name of the commander of the English ships last year is Yres,[2] a native of the Isle of Vique, and the owner of the ships is Jorge Carlos, governor of that island.[3]

Any further news of importance I shall communicate to you, whom I pray God to keep.

From Havana, 22 July 1588.

[*Signed and sealed:*] Pedro de Arana

[1] He was thus abandoned by the *Commander* and her consorts in 1587.

[2] Captain William Irish, a privateering captain who was described by Sir George Carey in 1590 as his servant (*Letters of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries*, ed. R. C. Anderson (Southampton Record Soc., 1922), p. 180), and who was commander of other privateering ventures in the West Indies in 1589, 1590 and 1591 (cp. pp. 581, 587, 597, 769).

[3] Sir George Carey, captain, and self-styled 'governor', of the Isle of Wight, vice-admiral of Hampshire and the Isle of Wight. His connexions with the Roanoke voyages were evidently close, we still lack full evidence of them (cp. pp. 123, 154, 224, 499, 512, 517, 543 above; Andrews, 'Elizabethan privateering', p. 280).

148. $\frac{16}{26}$ MARCH 1589.

PEDRO DE ARAÑA TO JUAN DE IBARRA[1]

To Joan de Ybarra of the council of the king our master, and his secretary for works, forests and the Indies.

Through Father Andres de Ubilla who, on the twelfth of this month, left this port for Spain in a small packet-boat,[2] I have written to you, and I will, therefore, now be brief, merely referring to the relation and letter that I am sending with this to his majesty, the contents of which are concerned with occurrences after the date of my letter, being matters which his majesty has desired to know, and concerning which he has given instructions to the general in Florida.[3] With the unfailing desire in which I live to succeed in serving his majesty, I have made a relation of the place where the English are settling on the Florida coast.[4] From my report the truth will be learnt, very different, indeed, from the reports which have already been sent to his majesty,[5] all of which have been intended to serve the ends of certain individuals without involving them in risks of any kind.

As I am writing this, I should wish to be in your presence to declare my regret at what is happening. Truly, one of the things which most distresses me is this thought, which makes me long

[1] Translated. Seville, A.G.I. 54. 1. 34 (Santo Domingo 118). Copy in Library of Congress, Transcripts A.G.I., General Series. Cp. Wright, *Further English voyages*, p. 237, n. 3.

[2] 'vn Pataxuelo'.

[3] The governor, Pedro Menéndez Marqués, for whose instructions see pp. 779–81.

[4] The relation of Pedro Diaz, pp. 781–95 below.

[5] Here Araña, royal accountant at Havana, is likely to be sniping at Fernández de Quiñones, warden of the fortress, who had to confess in his report of 12/22 March 1587 that he had been unable to find out anything definite about the English settlement (Wright, *Further English voyages*, pp. 230–1). The precise implications of Araña's subsequent criticisms are likely to have more relevance to inter-departmental jealousies than to the English settlement. But his discovery of Pedro Diaz and his story was clearly a scoop for Araña.

to be away from the Indies, if only to attend personally to that which I have reported to you.

May our Lord keep you many years. From Havana, 26 March 1589.

Father Andres has sailed in good weather. God grant that he arrive safely, since his arrival is of such importance to the service of his sacred majesty, whose hands I kiss.

[*Signed and sealed:*] Pedro de Arana

149. $\frac{11}{21}$ MARCH 1589.

THE RELATION OF PEDRO DIAZ[1]

At Havana on 21 March 1589 there was taken from Pero Diaz, a native of La Palma and a pilot on this route, the relation hereunder, as from one whom the English pirates imprisoned and took when he was going to Spain in the flag-ship of the Santo Domingo fleet, [Alonso Cornieles], general.[2]

In the year 1585, off Bermuda, there was one of the queen's ships called the *Tiquere* of which a renowned English knight, called Sir Richarte Granfil, was captain—the same who was in that year at the island of Puerto Rico and at Ysavela where he bartered for cattle, horses and dogs[3] and then set out to colonise the coast of

[1] Translated. Enclosed in the foregoing (Seville, A.G.I. 54. 1. 34, Santo Domingo 118); first printed in Wright, *Further English voyages*, pp. 237–41, differences from which have not been noted. Diaz is described as a pilot of the River Plate in a letter he wrote from Seville on 16 August 1581 on the expedition designed to leave for the Straits of Magellan on 1 September following (Madrid, Museo Naval, Colección Navarrete, xx, no. 21, fo. 157; Vicente Vela, *Indice*, no. 2356). He was acting as pilot of the *Santa Maria* when she was taken by Grenville in 1585 (cp. pp. 192–3 above). Oré (p. 813 below) calls him Pedro Diaz Franco. His deposition is the most important documentary addition to the history of the Roanoke voyages to be made for many years. It is not impossible that further depositions by him survive in Spain.

[2] The name is omitted. For it, see p. 169 above; Wright, *Further English voyages*, pp. 12, 237.

[3] Cp. pp. 187, 735, 742, 747 above.

Florida. Whence he [Grenville] sailed after leaving there 100 men,[1] and the cattle, mules and dogs he had bought, and took him [Diaz], guarding him closely so that he could not escape from them until 1 May 1588,[2] in the manner following.

'After he was captured off Bermuda he was taken straight to England by way of the island of Flores and brought to the English port of Plemua on 26 November 1585.[3] The said captain, who went on to London,[4] has his house and a town at Biriforte,[5] where he resides with his lady wife,[6] and he returned to the river of Biriforte, which is at the mouth of Bistable,[7] and there he fitted out six ships, one of 150 tons and the rest from 100 down to 60 tons.

[1] The first approximately accurate account of the size of the 1585 colony available to the Spaniards (cp. pp. 194–7, 753 above).

[2] 6/16 May according to White (pp. 567–8 above). Here and subsequently it is difficult to know how precise Diaz's memory was, or even whether he was thinking in terms of Old or New Style dating.

[3] 18/28 November (p. 193 above).

[4] Thus fulfilling his promise to Walsingham, made on 29 October/8 November (pp. 220–1 above).

[5] Grenville retained, after 1574 when Bideford was incorporated, extensive rights over the borough, and had a house on the town quay (Rowse, *Grenville*, pp. 113–17), but his family seat was at Stowe, some twenty miles to the south-west.

[6] 'donde esta casado con vna señora condessa'. Grenville's wife (d. 1623) had been Mary St Leger, daughter of Sir John St Leger, who had close family connexions with the Butlers, earls of Ormond, and with Queen Elizabeth (cp. Rowse, *Grenville*, pp. 58–9, 337–8).

[7] This explanation, though clumsy, is reasonably correct. Bideford is at the lowest ford on the River Torridge, which joins the estuary of the Taw, extending from Barnstaple to Bideford Bar, where it opens into Bideford Bay.

It was apparently while at Bideford that Diaz compiled his first published work, his account of the training of pilots at Seville for service on the Indies route: 'The examination of the Master and Pilots which saile in the Fleetes of Spaine to the West Indies: Written in the Spanish tongue by Pedro Dias a Spanish pilot taken by Sir Richard Grinvile 1585', which Hakluyt published in *Principal navigations*, III (1600), 864–8 (XI (1904), 448–58), with the note: 'Written by me Pedro Dias borne in the Isle of Palma, vpon the request and gratification of Master Richard Hakluyt, in February 1586.' Hakluyt, as we saw, was not consistent in his use of the calendar and English years (cp. pp. 387, 598–9 above), but here he almost certainly means 1586. As he was said on 1 March to be then only on his way from Paris (Parks, *Hakluyt*, p. 249) it may have been written as the result of correspondence between Grenville and Hakluyt.

With them, and with 400 soldiers and sailors and provisions for a year,[1] he put to sea on 2 May 1586.[2] He sailed round Cape Finisterra where he encountered fourteen French ships[3] on their way from San Lucár and Cadiz to France and Flanders. Of these he captured two and the rest fled; and thus he took much merchandise which he sent to his house and to his land in his own ships.[4] Later, he met with a Flemish fly-boat on its way with merchandise to San Lucár; and he took it and distributed the cargo among the six vessels. Then he equipped the fly-boat as though for war, as it was an excellent sailing ship.[5]

With these seven ships he reached the island of Puerto Santo, near Madera,[6] where he sent a boat to the shore to find out what there was there; and to take in water, and bring away what they could find and could [carry off]. The inhabitants, although few

[1] This is the only description we have of Grenville's squadron in 1586 (for what is known from English sources, see pp. 466–7 above). If the figure for the total complement of the expedition is correct, it would have been about two-thirds the size of that of 1585, with perhaps 250 seamen and 150 soldiers. If there was a year's food for the ships' companies and for Lane's men as well we may suggest that Grenville intended to winter at the settlement and make for the Indies in the spring of 1587. His route by Madeira was probably influenced by the lateness of his departure but it is likely to have been planned first on the assumption that prize-taking in the Indies would be deferred rather than abandoned (cp. pp. 469–70 above).

[2] Grenville attempted to set out on 16/26 April, but failed: he had not gone by 27 April/7 May (p. 476 above). If Diaz's date is correct it is, therefore, 2/12 May.

[3] They are likely to have included Dutch as well as French vessels.

[4] 'donde tome muchas mercaderias y las ynbio en los propios nauios a su casa y tierra', apparently meaning not that he detached ships to bring the stuff home (though he could mean this if Grenville merely stripped the prizes), but that he sent the prizes home under men from his own ships. One was the *Julian* (brought home by Richard Willett) and the other either the *Peter* or the *Brave* (cp. pp. 480–2, 564).

[5] This was the *Martin Johnson*, for the recovery of which the Dutch commenced suit after Grenville's return (cp. pp. 484–7 above).

[6] Porto Santo is the smaller of the two habitable islands north-west of Madeira. Grenville's call was clearly an experiment to find out if there was a suitable watering-place on a shorter, relatively direct, route to Virginia. He was taking a chance of being becalmed by sailing near the northerly limits of the north-east trades, but on this occasion it was apparently a chance which came off.

in number, prepared to defend themselves and prevent the English coming ashore, offering them a tun of water for each ship if they would not land. The captain, angered by this, determined to disembark, intending to burn the island and destroy it with its inhabitants. To do this he armed his boats and placed men in them and sent them to land. The islanders, however, prevented them from coming ashore, and fought so bravely that the English returned to their ships. The next day the ships were brought close to the land in order to sweep the shore with artillery-fire, from which the inhabitants received no harm owing to the precautions they took. They defended themselves until noon, when the English ships withdrew[1] and continued their journey to Florida where they had left settlers (which is latitude 36¼°) and is situated further from the Bay of Santa Maria to the north-east, thirty leagues from Cape San Juan, from which the coast runs north and south for twelve leagues[2] to where the said settlement is, being on an island very near to the mainland and some six leagues long, it being possible to pass on foot from the island to the mainland.[3] There were Indians on the island which were at war with those on the mainland and for this reason they admitted the English,[4] of whom

[1] In spite of the islanders' spirited resistance Grenville is likely to have taken sufficient water to see his ships safely to North America.

[2] 'a donde auia dexado la jente ques en altura de 36 grados ¼ ques cae mas alla de la baya de santa maria al nordeste como 30 leguas asta al cabo de san juan de donde iba la costa de norte sur 12 leguas donde esta dicha poblacion'. In these very compressed directions it is a little difficult to follow Diaz precisely. He seems, correctly, to put Santa Maria Bay (Chesapeake Bay) north of the settlement (which was at lat. 35° 50′) and then to turn south to Cape San Juan (usually on Spanish maps Cape Hatteras), and then north again to the entry to Roanoke Island. Cape Henry at the mouth of Chesapeake Bay is about 135 land miles from Cape Hatteras, and this, in turn, is about 45 miles south of Port Ferdinando.

[3] Roanoke Island is now about 13 miles long, but has lost some land at the north and probably gained some on the south. It is quite probable that Diaz is right in saying that Croatan Sound could be waded; this may have been true until the early nineteenth century (cp. pp. 841, 862 below).

[4] This does not precisely accord with what we know of relations with the Indians under Lane, but it is true that overtures were made to get Amadas and Barlowe to join against the enemies of the Roanoke tribe (cp. p. 114).

the mainland Indians killed about four.[1] And so Francisco Draque had brought the rest away with him, finding them in poor condition and greatly in need of provisions, for the land produces little to eat, having nothing but maize, and of that[2] little, and the land wretchedly poor.

And so they found the said island deserted[3] and discovered the bodies of one Englishman and one Indian hanged.[4] Of the native inhabitants they did not find more than three Indians. When bringing them to the ships, two of them got away and they seized the third, from whom they got an account of how Francisco Draque had brought away the people who had been on that island.[5] On the island they have a wooden fort of little strength and it is on the inside by the water.[6] There is plenty of timber and the soil is sandy, liable to be inundated and marshy. Of the main-

[1] It was, however, the Roanoke tribe which fought with Lane's men, but we do not hear of him losing four men at their hands, though it is possible that he did (cp. pp. 281–8 above).

[2] We can be sure that Wingina's men had long ago stripped the extended maize-fields on Roanoke Island (cp. pp. 279–80 above). The Banks, which are all Diaz saw personally, may have indicated a poor land to him (though they did not to Barlowe, pp. 94–5 above). His comment, moreover, indicates clearly that the districts in which Grenville carried out his explorations (p. 479 above) did not impress members of his expedition with their fertility.

[3] Raleigh's supply ship had come, we presume, before the end of June, and had gone before the middle of July (cp. pp. 477–9 above). If Grenville took 75 days out (a generous estimate) he would have arrived about 15/25 July. On the other hand as late as 8/18 August a squadron of about the right size, and believed to be English, was probing the coast near Santa Elena (Wright, *Further English voyages*, p. 203; p. 468 above) and it may be that Diaz's compression hides the fact that Grenville did not reach Port Ferdinando until about 15/25 August.

[4] These must be the relics of some episode which took place during the visit of Raleigh's supply ship, as there is no suggestion of anything of this nature under Lane (cp. pp. 228, 307 above). The Roanoke tribe, after Wingina's death, made Dasemunkepeuc their headquarters (cp. p. 527).

[5] He was evidently one who could speak some English, or else Grenville had someone with him who could make himself understood by the Indians. The captive was either Raleigh, who died in Bideford in 1589, or Towaye, who accompanied White in 1587 (cp. pp. 495, 543 above).

[6] For the fort see pp. 903–10. The wooden building was that inside the entrenchments. It was within the Sound, i.e. on Roanoke Island.

land the said Pero Diaz does not know the quality of the soil beyond that it appears fertile and well-wooded.[1]

In the said fort[2] he [Grenville] left eighteen men[3] and did not allow the said Pero Diaz to go on shore or enter the fort.[4] The said captain stayed there for fourteen days[5] and left in the said fort four pieces of artillery of cast-iron[6] and supplies for the eighteen men for a year.[7] In charge of them he left a Master Cofar, an Englishman,[8] and another called Chapeman.[9]

The reason why the English have settled here is, he says, because on the mainland there is much gold and so that they may pass from the North to the South Sea, which they say and understand is nearby; thus making themselves strong through the discovery of great wealth.[10]

After doing what has been described above the captain put to sea in his ships[11] and sailed far out, hoping to encounter vessels

[1] A reasonable general impression.

[2] From what White tells us it appears unlikely that they used the fort as their headquarters (cp. pp. 524, 903).

[3] Hakluyt and White were convinced that the number was fifteen, (cp. pp 480, 528 above) but Diaz may well be right, though White made a careful attempt to account for them individually.

[4] I.e. Diaz was not allowed on Roanoke Island, though it is quite possible that he was permitted to land on Hatarask Island in the Banks.

[5] No time is stated by Hakluyt (pp. 479–80 above).

[6] One of these may still have been there more than a hundred years later, as John Lawson (*A new voyage to Carolina* (1709), p. 62) saw on the site of the fort 'a small quarter-deck gun, made of iron staves and hooped with iron'. (cp. p. 904).

[7] Hakluyt says supplies for fifteen men for two years (pp. 479–80 above).

[8] This name is very likely to be Coffin. There were Coffins at Barnstaple (Chanter and Wainwright, *Barnstaple records*, II, 140, 222), and John Coffin of Portledge (1536–1608) had two brothers, Edward and William, of whom we do not apparently hear after 1566 (Vivian, *Visitations of Cornwall*, p. 209).

[9] Chapman is a much more common name, but there were a number of families of Chapmans in Barnstaple and in Cornwall.

[10] This is a reasonable, if optimistic, paraphrase of Lane's opinions (cp. pp. 272–5 above), of which Diaz would have learnt on his return to England.

[11] Grenville's time of departure would thus lie between approximately 29 July/8 August and 29 August/8 September, according to the time of his arrival (cp. pp. 468–9 above). It may be noted, however, that the latter almost coincides with his fortunate departure in 1585 when he took the *Santa Maria* (p. 192

from the Indies, as far south as the Açores. His men were very sick and some thirty-four persons died.[1] The ships then made their way to Newfoundland, entering the Bay of San Francisco,[2] where the crew went ashore to rest and caught fish to eat. Thence they again sailed to the Açores, some 400 leagues away, and they spent eight days among the islands.[3] There they captured a vessel bound for Tercera from San Miguel with passengers[4]—humble folk whom the English took with them, and of whom the greater part died. A lad told the English how there was a vessel laden with hides from Bahaya[5] in a small island called Billa Franca,[6] and how the hides had been put on shore in order to careen the ship which was leaking. The English went to the place and loaded the hides on their ships. While they were near San Miguel they sent a vessel to Tercera which found another English ship pursuing a frigate from Puerto Rico, and together they captured the frigate.[7]

After this, the English continued their voyage to their country where they arrived on 26 December 1586.[8] They kept Pedro Diaz captive, together with other honest fellows to the number of about forty,[9] and under strict guard, saying that they would give to none

above), and this might lend some further probability to the later date, as he was going to look for prizes on his return voyage.

[1] Nothing is known of this elsewhere. As Grenville put back for fresh food it may have been scurvy.

[2] On the western shore of Conception Bay, apparently opposite Cape St Francis (cp. Harrisse, *Découverte...de Terre-Neuve*, pp. 97, 106, 110, 247, 360).

[3] Hakluyt has only a brief general statement about Grenville's activities in the Azores (p. 480 above), and it is likely that there is more to be found about them in the Spanish archives.

[4] Such a prize, a small vessel engaged in running between the islands of San Miguel and Terceira, can scarcely have been worth taking.

[5] Bahia, Hispaniola, more probably than Brazil (cp. p. 767 above).

[6] Villafranca is off the south coast of San Miguel.

[7] The Bahia and Puerto Rico vessels may have been stragglers from Juan de Guzman's fleet of thirty vessels which left Havana on 23 July/2 August and reached San Lucar on 26 October/5 November, having lost seven ships, Miss Wright believed by storm not capture (*Further English voyages*, p. lxvi).

[8] The month was December (p. 494 above), but no day is named in any other authority. If correct it is likely to be New Style.

[9] For some of the captives see pp. 770–1 above.

other save Pero Diaz information of the said settlement. The captain went thence to London where he recruited people for the settlement,[1] 210 in number, both men and women.[2] He then despatched three ships in charge of a Portuguese called Simon Fernandez, who had married in England and was a skilful pilot and, further, was the author and promoter of the venture.[3] This man left London for the settlement in March 1587,[4] while Pero Diaz, who was injured, remained at the captain's house and estate.[5]

These ships reached the settlement, but did not find the eighteen men who had been left there, nor any trace of them, and, after disembarking their people, the vessels returned to England.[6] There the captain fitted out and prepared two pinnaces[7] in which he embarked seven men and four women for the settlement, their provisions consisting of biscuit, meal and vegetables.[8] They were sent in the charge of Captain Artefaz,[9] and the pilot was Pero Diaz.

[1] Grenville's visit to London and his active association with the recruiting of White's colony—if this latter is correct—are useful additions to our other information.

[2] Diaz correctly mentions the women, but the total number of people left by White on Roanoke Island was only 114 out of an anticipated 150 (cp. pp. 539–43 above).

[3] The information that Fernandez (already described to the Spaniards in 1585, Wright, *Further English voyages*, p. 15) was married is new. The belief that he inspired both Gilbert's and Raleigh's ventures is suggested elsewhere (ibid. p. 175), but though he was a pioneer in the navigation to and discovery of the North American coast his part was primarily that of an agent. In view of Grenville's hostility to him in 1585 (cp. pp. 189, 201–2 above) it is surprising, if Grenville had much to do with preparing the expedition, that he was entrusted with responsibility (though nominally under White) in 1587.

[4] Cp. pp. 498–9 above.

[5] How the injury took place is not clear. Diaz may have been moved to Stowe.

[6] He says nothing of the circumstances in which the settlement was diverted from Chesapeake Bay to Roanoke Island (cp. pp. 523–5 above), but there is a possibility that the Spaniards knew of the intentions of the English to move their settlement (cp. p. 769 above).

[7] The *Brave* and the *Roe* (p. 564 above), 'the captain' being Grenville.

[8] The small scale of the reinforcement which left Bideford on 22 April/2 May is well brought out here. What the provisions amounted to is not clear (cp. White, pp. 564, 567 above).

[9] Evidently Arthur Facy (cp. pp. 486–8, 555–6, 564–5), the vessel being the *Brave*.

The instructions given were that the pinnaces should not approach land lest Pero Diaz should escape.

They sailed thus to within thirty leagues of the island of Madera where, having sighted a ship, the swifter of the two pinnaces went in pursuit and was thus separated from the other. This second vessel, in which Pero Diaz was travelling, continuing its voyage, sighted a French ship which overtook it, and boarded it with thirty men who fought those in the pinnace until the greater part on both sides was killed or wounded, when the pinnace surrendered. The French then plundered it, taking what they wished, and left it with some of the English on board.[1] These, on their knees, begged the French to leave them Pero Diaz, without whom they could not navigate their ship and would perish.[2] But he, on his side, was equally urgent in his request to the French not to leave him with the English who had all but finished him off. The French, therefore, took him with them, promising to leave him at the Canaries.

When, however, they arrived there, they did not wish to put him on land. Excusing themselves on the pretext of heavy seas, they took him to the Cape Verde Islands, where he begged them to let him go ashore. But they were unwilling and promised to leave him in the Indies, and to give him the ship's pinnace and many clothes, after the ship had loaded cargo there.[3] He, seeing their unwillingness to let him go, told them, in order to reassure them, that he would remain, and, pointing to a cape, pretended that, as a pilot, he knew it well and that there was good fishing to be had there. When the ship had reached the spot he pointed out to them he threw himself overboard and escaped from the French by swimming to the island of Mayo,[4] on which he remained for four months until a ship from Biena[5] called on its way to Brazil on

[1] This accords with the story given in more detail by White (pp. 564–8 above).

[2] This episode is not mentioned by White if, indeed, it took place.

[3] It is quite likely that, finding Diaz to have been a pilot on the Indies route, they wished to make use of his knowledge for their own privateering purposes.

[4] Maio, the island nearest to Cape Verde.

[5] Viana, Portugal.

which he sailed as far as Cape Verde. There, he arranged with Pedro de Santiago to take him to Cartajena, whence he came to Havana in March 1589, and at the moment he remains here, intending to return to Spain with the *flota*.

The said Pero Diaz is of the opinion that the people who remained in the settlement[1] should have, by this time, died of hunger, or been exposed to great need and danger.

I have prepared this report from the answers received to questions I put to Pero Diaz, who will go to Spain with the *flota*, and will take with him a despatch from me to Madrid, where he will make himself known; and his majesty and the royal council of the Indies will then be able to give those instructions touching the settlement which most conduce to the royal service. This Pero Diaz knows how to navigate in the waters around the settlement, is young, hard-working, a good pilot, and a trustworthy person, whom I am assured will find favour with his majesty. However, even if this should not be so, I will pay out of my private purse his expenses from Seville to Madrid, the cost of his stay in Madrid, and of his return to Seville. Having made him this promise, I have his word that he will go to Madrid with the despatch that I shall give him.[2]

Dated, Havana, 21 March 1589.

[*Signed and sealed:*] Pedro de Arana

[*Endorsed:*] Havana. Relation which the paymaster sends concerning the place where the English are settling on the Florida coast at latitude 36¼°.

[1] Here he reverted to what his questioner's main interest was, the state of the English settlement in Virginia. His opinion is of interest, especially in its suggestion to the Spaniards that there might be little to fear from the colony.

[2] Diaz got to Spain safely, but on 6/16 July 1589 was ordered to go back to the Indies as master of the bark, *Santiago el mayor*, with despatches (Museo Naval, Colleccion Navarrete, III, no. 23, fo. 257, from Biblioteca de San Isidro MS 25; Vicente Vela, *Indice*, no. 1284). Whether this mission was connected with the proposed Spanish expedition to Virginia (cp. pp. 813–14) is not known.

150. 26 JUNE / 5 JULY 1589.

PEDRO MENÉNDEZ MARQUÉS TO PHILIP II[1]

Sire,

I reached this city this morning, having left Florida on May 19[2] in a small light vessel equipped with sails and oars,[3] so as to be able to escape from any enemy I should meet. I met none, however, on my journey.

I was in Havana at the end of April getting together a few things needed in Florida. Juan de Tegeda[4] did not arrive while I was there, although it was believed that he had reached Santo Domingo.

All is well in Florida, and the natives are quiet. I left there Captain Juan de Possada[5] to await your majesty's pleasure. I shall come as quickly as possible to give your majesty an account of everything.[6] I shall have to stop here for a few days; but I shall make my stay as short as possible.

Some French corsairs, laden with negroes to be bartered, are off Hispaniola and Jamaica.

The governor of Brazil arrived in the galleon *San Lucar* at Havana. When I left Florida I had news that he was preparing to sail. May our Lord keep your majesty's catholic person safe for many happy years. Seville, 5 July 1589.

Pedro Menendez Marques

[1] Holograph. Seville, A.G.I., Indiferente 1099 (see Wright, *Further English voyages*, p. lxxvi, n. 2).

[2] Cp. the dates, p. 814.

[3] Possibly the *barco luengo* used for the 1588 expedition (p. 804).

[4] Juan de Texeda, who was engaged in supervising the improvement of fortifications against further English attacks (pp. 770, 803 above).

[5] Cp. pp. 813, 815 above.

[6] None of the relevant documents on his interviews have yet been found and we are dependent on Oré's version of what took place (pp. 813–14 below).

151. $\frac{4}{14}$ OCTOBER 1589.

TOMASO CONTARINI TO THE DOGE AND SENATE OF VENICE[1]

'There is news that thirty ships, not under Drake, but another, have been doing much damage at Florida,[2] and they entertain fears for the fleet.'...Madrid.

152. 22 AUGUST

1 SEPTEMBER 1590.

NOTES FROM INTERCEPTED LETTERS FROM DIEGO MENÉNDEZ DE VALDÉS[3]

There are two *lettres* written from Puertoricco from Iohn Menez deualdez as yt shuld seme the governor of that Isle the one beinge of the first of September 1590:

In that *Lettre*, hee dothe advertize the Kinge that the fourthe of the former monethe,[4] two english sailes were dyscovered[5] a

[1] Extract. *Cal. S.P. Venetian, 1581–91*, p. 471.

[2] This unsubstantiated rumour indicates the continued Spanish unease at English activities in North American waters.

[3] P.R.O., S.P. Foreign, Spain, S.P. 94/3, fos. 184–6. The writer is Diego Menéndez de Valdés, governor of Puerto Rico, who had reported, on 3/13 May, the appearance of one of Carey's ships to Philip II (Wright, *Further English voyages*, p. 244; p. 581 above). It seems highly probable that this rough translated abstract belongs with the dozen intercepted letters (of March to November 1590) printed by Hakluyt in *Principal navigations*, III (1600), 557–65 (X (1904), 158–78), and said by him to have been seized by Watts's ships. They include a later letter by the same writer. If the endorsement on this item was made shortly after the originals were brought to England the date of interception is likely to have been December 1590 or early January 1591. The *Hopewell*, *Little John* and *John Evangelist* were all home too early, and it cannot be said which of Watts's ships were at sea at this time. It might possibly have been a tardy prize, the *Trinidad* or another (cp. p. 595 above).

[4] 25 July/4 August.

[5] If the suggested date is correct it is not possible to say which ships these were. Abraham Cocke with the *Hopewell* and her three consorts were on the north coast of Cuba from 25 July/4 August for two or three days but then cleared for the Florida Channel (pp. 606–8 above). William Irish and his ships were already near Newfoundland (cp. p. 581 above). Christopher Newport cannot yet have arrived.

Lyttle before night vppon that coaste, whereuppon he put him selfe and the rest of the people in armes for the defence of the Isle, and after they had made vp and downe, in thende they landed about a x. miles from that place, and burnt and spoiled a village called Aillarcibo[1] and after toke freshe water and went theire waies.

The xii[th] of the same moneth, thre other English shippes and a pynnace were dyscovered[2] which did chase a frigatt or lyttle bote that the night before went from y[e] Isle to the Isle of Margarito:[3] These shippes the next daie cam to the porte Delaguada[4] or of the wateringe because (as yt shuld seeme by the Lettres, those shippes which passe by take water there, where they Landed Lxx men which devyded them selues into two troupes or squadrons: with one Squadron they gave scorte[5] or defence to those that tooke water and did washe their Lynnen Thother was placed by the sea coaste Inwardes awaie that Pedro De Iereme happened to passe, whoe beinge accompanied with a Brother of his and a Negro, toke an Englishe man whome they founde alone and slewe two others that straied from theire companie.

In the Lettre there ys greate comendacion given to Pedro de Ierema for his manhoode and valor for the defence of the Isles The Englishman that was taken was sent to the master of the Campe called Ian de Texeda[6] the heads of thother two Pedro did sett vp, vpon Poles on the topp of his howse

He said that they have speciall chardge to take alive some of those that do lande that they maie drawe Intelligence from them.

[1] Arecibo, west of San Juan.

[2] It is possible that by 2/12 August Newport had appeared on the north coast of Puerto Rico, but the other available evidence (cp. pp. 590–1 above) would indicate that he was still off the coast of Cuba some days later; nor is there any other evidence that he did not sail direct from Cuba through the Florida Channel, where, about 22 August/1 September, a Spanish ship was chased by some vessels believed to have been English (Wright, *Further English voyages*, p. 262).

[3] Margarita, Venezuela.

[4] San Francisco de la Aquada, north-west of San Juan. [5] Escort.

[6] For Juan de Texeda cp. pp. 770, 803 above. His letter of 10/20 October is given by Hakluyt (*Principal navigations*, x (1904), 159–61).

In the said Lettre he dothe desire the Kinge to rewarde Pedro de Ierema for his good services, and to bestowe a stipend of two hundreth duckattes of[1] him to con[trive?] a watche for the saveguard of the coaste.

Since the begininge of Maie xviij shipps have passed by that Porte, and they have learned by certaine Spanyards that haue bein sett on Land, that some of those shippes goe to Florida.

He further dothe reporte of an Englishe shipp that about the xxvj[th] of Maie did passe by,[2] and gave chase to an other shipp. This Eng*lish* shipp was of 200 Tones, and had xxvj pieces of Iron ordynaunce and Them in the bottom of the shipp and 220 men.[3] This ship (he saieth) went to Floryda to assist those people that all readie wee haue there,[4] with artillerie which was in the bottom of the shippe,[5] and they caryed lykewise a Governor[6] with them whoe was to be left there.

He said further that the Queenes Ma*ies*tie vnderstanding that the Kinge had sente six Gallyes to Floryda, did sett forthe seaven shippes to goe to Florida, which devydeth themselves to take pryses by the waie, and afterwards to land in Floryda.

He said o*ur* Englishmen doe fortyfie there apace, and y[t] the same place dothe serve vs notable to take in freshe water and to refreshe o*ur* men. And yf anie our shippes happen to com late, they do wynter there.[7] In somoche as where heretofore no English

[1] For 'on'?

[2] The *Hopewell* sailed along the north coast of Puerto Rico between 5/15 May and 12/22 May (cp. pp. 583, 601 above).

[3] For her true tonnage and complement, see p. 580 above. The information was derived from the mulatto Pedro who deserted at the Yaguana River (pp. 587, 601 above).

[4] Cp. Wright, *Further English voyages*, p. 244, and pp. 587–8 above.

[5] The story that the *Hopewell* was carrying extra artillery for the Virginia colony as ballast in her hold is not confirmed elsewhere, but it is not entirely unlikely that it has a grain of truth in it. If the vessel cleared without the food and other light supplies which White had ready (cp. pp. 713–14 above) she may have done so after a few pieces of artillery for the settlement had already been placed on board.

[6] John White.

[7] This was the kind of information which the Spaniards expected, and feared, to hear, though their projected expedition had been postponed (cp. pp. 774–5).

shippes were wont to be seene after the monethe of Maie on that coast,[1] Now all the rest of the yeere they repare thether. Therefore he dothe advise the kinge very earnestlie to prevent the fortyfyinge and contynewinge of our men in Floryda which he saieth maie be best don by sending some Gallyes thether.

It shall seeme by this and all the rest of the Lettres that the Islands there be greatlie oppressed by our adventurers Therefore he desires the Kinge that he maie have supplie of 210 Souldiers havinge not allreadie above the nomber of 144 souldiers.

He dothe require also, Artillery and powder and Slaves for the fynishing of the fortyficacions which are there already begon, otherwyse they shall not be hable to defend them selves but must be driven to sell those fewe Slaves he hathe.

It shuld seeme by this Lettre that there are two declaracions which are sent to the Kinge, that I cannot finde emonge the pacquet of Lettres.

It shuld seeme that they doe stande in soche feare of the Indyans also that the greatest parte of the Isle by reason thereof ys vnpeopled.

There ys some discourse of Ecclesyasticall matters, and the obedyence that the Kinge would have to be given to those persons.

The other Lettre to the Kinge containeth nothinge but a requeste for provycion of powder to be distrybuted amonge the Islanders, which he dothe alledge the Kinge was wont to allowe to the former Governors, his predecessors, and of the store of the Castle, where now there ys no quantyty at all, nor none to be bought for money in the Towne by reason of a shippe that was taken wherein was certaine quantitie of powder provyded by merchauntes

All the other Lettres are wrytten from the said Governor Menez de Valdes to the Secretarie[2] and divers others of the Counsaile of

It is not unlikely that there may have been some talk of reviving earlier plans for using the settlement as a base (cp. pp. 587–8), although it is possible that the English were deliberately spreading untrue tales to this effect.

[1] There is some mistake here, either on the part of the writer or the translator. May to July was the usual privateering season, but the English were by now staying much later (cp. pp. 556–7).

[2] Juan de Ibarra (cp. pp. 768–9 above).

the Indyans contanynge more breiflie soche advyces and matters as are specyfied in the kinges Lettres Savinge one Lettre wherein he dothe complaine verie bravelie of a Captaine with whome the Secretary of the Indyans dothe advyse him to intertaine freindshipp and concurrences./[1]

[*Endorsed:*] Ianuary: 1590

The contentes of certaine Spanishe Lettres from porto Rico. by Ihon Menes de valdes. Primo 7. br. 1590.

153. 28 JUNE / 8 JULY 1591.

TOMASO CONTARINI TO THE DOGE AND SENATE OF VENICE[2]

'A man who has arrived from England declares that the Queen's fleet is in Florida,[3] a place in the West Indies very well suited for observing and attacking the flotilla that sails from Havana. The Seville squadron, which usually sails at this season was on the point of departure. But whereas this squadron used to consist of 40 to 60 sail now it will number only 9 or 10, that line of traffic being in great disorder, and their commerce steadily declining.'... Madrid.

[1] The latter part of the document has no direct relevance to the Virginia enterprises, but it is printed here as the letters go with the series printed by Hakluyt and throw some light on Spanish activities in the West Indies. The governor had received some reinforcement by the date of his letter of 10/20 November (Hakluyt, *Principal navigations* x (1904), 161–2).

[2] Extract. *Cal. S.P. Venetian, 1581–91*, p. 549.

[3] This is likely to be a piece of English counter-espionage, but compare the reports of extensive English preparations for North American ventures in 1590, pp. 583, 587–8 above.

154. [*c.* 1617.]

LUIS JERÓNIMO DE ORÉ, *RELATION OF THE MARTYRS OF FLORIDA*[1]

In the year 1577 his majesty ordered Pedro Menéndez Márques, nephew of the *adelantado*,[2] with the title of governor of Florida and its provinces, to take a force of infantry and rebuild the fort of Santa Elena. He was then admiral of the *galeones* and comptroller of Florida.[3] When the general arrived he put in hand the restoration of the fort of Santa Elena. Taking 100 soldiers with him, they had many encounters with the Indians until the fort was built. From Santa Elena as a centre they went forth to burn the Indian villages and to inflict whatever damage they could. In one such attack they killed and captured 120 persons, while in the province of Guale they burned all the towns so that when the Indians saw themselves thus persecuted and their people dead or in captivity they submitted, made peace, and asked for clergy to

[1] Extracts, translated. The title-page of the first edition reads: *Relacion de los martires que a auido en las Prouincias de la Florida; doze Religiosos de la Compañia de Iesus, que padecieron en el Iacan, y cinco de la Orden de la nuestro Serafico P.S. Francisco, en la Prouincia de Guale. Ponese assi mesmo la descripcion del Iacan, donde se an fortificado los Ingleses, y de otras cosas tocantes a la conuersion de los Indios.* Hecha por P.F. Luys Hieronymo de Oré, Lectore de Teologia, y Comissario de la Prouincia de santa Elena de la Florida e Isla de Cuba. It was reprinted as Fr. Jéromino de Oré Franciscano, *Relación histórica de la Florida escrita en el siglo XVII*, 2 vols., Madrid, 1931–3, ed. P. Atanasio López, who conjectured that it was published about 1617, probably at Madrid. The translation by Dr Maynard Geiger (Franciscan Studies, no. 18, N.Y., Joseph F. Wagner, 1936) has been used as a basis for the present extracts, though with some appreciable modification. Lewis and Loomie (*Spanish Jesuit mission*, pp. 170–92) use the same texts for the material on the Chesapeake mission of 1570–2 and the voyage of 1588. They omit the first three paragraphs in this selection.

[2] Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, the best authority on whom is Gonzalo Solís de Merás, *Pedro Menéndez de Avilés*, ed. and trs. J. T. Connor (Florida State Historical Society, 1923). For Pedro Menéndez Marqués, see Ruidíaz, *Florida*, II, 629–38. His earlier career can be traced by means of E. Schäfer, *Indice de la collección de documentos de Indias*, I (1946).

[3] Second-in-command of the warships that accompanied the treasure-fleet to New Spain and home again (hence the name *galeones* for the fleet), and *contador* (the man who acted as check on the treasurer) of Florida.

instruct them in the things necessary for receiving baptism and embracing Christianity. Thus the Indians became more acquiescent and subjected themselves to the Spaniards. The first Christian towns were Nombre de Dios and San Sebastián, for so they named those towns which are near San Agustín.[1]

In the year 1585 it became known that the English had come to settle[2] on the coast of Jacan[3] and, on receiving orders from his majesty, General Pedro Menéndez left San Agustín in a frigate on an expedition to Jacan to reconnoitre and to locate the settlers.[4] So, in the year 1587, coming near to the place, he encountered a storm so fierce that he was forced to put into harbour at great risk to himself. He came to Havana and thence set out for San Agustín where he arrived in July. There, he and Juan de Texeda,[5] the camp-master, agreed that the fort of Santa Elena should be evacuated in order to strengthen that of San Agustín. On his return he soon carried this out.[6]

This was done in view of the fact that the previous year (1586) the corsair, Francis Drake, had burned the fort of San Agustín with

[1] On the combination of punitive and missionary policy employed towards the Indians in this and other instances, see J. T. Lanning, *Spanish missions of Georgia* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1935); and for the complications which the French provided during these years, see Mary Ross, 'French intrusions and Indian uprisings in Georgia and South Carolina, 1577–80', in *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, VII (1923), 256–69; Quinn, 'Some Spanish reactions', in *Trans. R. Hist. Soc.*, 5th ser., I, 4, 7.

[2] Cp. p. 720 above.

[3] Ahawken, Axacan, Ajacán, Jacán (for its origin, a Virginia Algonquian one, see Woodbury Lowery, *Spanish settlements within the present limits of the United States, 1513–61* (1901), pp. 359–66; Swanton, *Indians*, pp. 70–1; L. D. Scisco, 'The discovery of Chesapeake Bay, 1525–73', in *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XL (1945), 277–80; p. 853 below). Though not precisely defined, it was in Spanish minds associated primarily with Chesapeake Bay.

[4] Passing over the reconnaissance of December 1585 (pp. 765–6 above), Oré briefly disposes of the expedition of 1587 of which Pedro Menéndez Marqués's own brief report has survived (Wright, *Further English voyages*, pp. 232–3). He set out on 27 April/7 May, failed to find any trace of the English along the Carolina Banks, though he was hampered by shoals, and was about to enter at Jacan, i.e. the mouth of Chesapeake Bay, when he was blown off his course to the Bahamas and then to Havana (9/19 June), from which he proposed to return to Florida on 16/26 June.

[5] Cp. pp. 770, 796, 798 above.

[6] Cp. pp. 778–9 above.

the aid of a great force of infantry and artillery which he put on land, and also on account of the small size of the garrison and the meagre defences of the fortress.[1] Concerning the latter, a trumpeter, who went over to him, gave him information.[2] During the time he was in the port, however, considerable damage was inflicted on him, boats being sunk and a number of Englishmen killed. One, in particular, was a person of note who was killed by a soldier, Luís Fernández (who at this time is very old and poor, and has children), with a single shot.[3] For him Drake had so much feeling that he ordered a gun to be fired as a signal to depart.[4] Drake departed and returned to his piratical course. Much more damage would have been inflicted on him and a greater resistance offered, had it not been necessary to take precautions against the Indians of Icaste and Caçacolo who had planned to rebel and to seize the women and children who were in safe keeping in the woods. These the Indians had intended to take for themselves and in their councils had already agreed to apportion out the women among them according to the status of the women and the Indians alike.[5]

His majesty considered it would be well to look to the matter [of subduing the Indians], and to the damage and cost which would result if the Spaniards had to start that task afresh. Moreover, the garrison of the fort was very small and it was impossible to resist the greater strength of the enemy [the English] in a fort constructed of wood and sand, and without hope of succour.[6] . . .

In the following year (1588), towards the end of the month of May, Captain Vicente González departed from the port and fortress of San Agustín.[7] With Gonzales went the sergeant-major, Juan Menéndez Marqués and thirty soldiers and sailors in a bark[8]

[1] Cp. pp. 295–6, 303–4, 754 above.

[2] Nicholas Burgoignon, pp. 297, 304, 763–6 above, although he is described there as a fifer, not a trumpeter.

[3] The Englishman was Anthony Powell, cp. pp. 298, 304 above.

[4] This sounds rather unlikely, cp. pp. 299, 305 above.

[5] Cp. Wright, *Further English voyages*, pp. 183–4, 187.

[6] Several pages (Lopez, edition, pp. 76–8; Geiger, pp. 42–4) on the arrival of the friars and the beginning of their missionary work are omitted.

[7] Cp. p. 799 above.

[8] 'barco luengo'.

of San Lúcar which had come to Havana the year before as a packet-boat.[1] This boat was purchased for the voyage, the purpose of the expedition being to run along the coast up to the bay of Madre de Dios del Jacán[2] in order to obtain knowledge of and to reconnoitre the English settlement and fort. After they had made the journey along the coast the party came to Santa Elena and found the Indians at peace,[3] the same being true of Cayagua,[4] which they judged to be a good harbour. Then following the coast, having passed the cape of San Román,[5] they spoke with the Indians, but the interpreters they had with them did not understand the language.[6] They continued their journey, passing the cape of Trafalgar and that of San Juan,[7] likewise two further harbours.[8] Finally, they arrived at the bay of Madre de Dios del Jacán in the month of June in the year 1588.

The mouth of this bay is about three leagues wide,[9] without shoals or reefs and is more than eight fathoms deep at its entrance.[10] It runs N.W.–S.E. and forms a large circular gulf.[11] Between the

[1] González had been to Havana, Florida and Spain in 1586 with despatches (Wright, *Further English voyages*, pp. 211, 219), so that it is not unlikely that this vessel is the one in which he had returned from Spain.

[2] One of the Spanish names for Chesapeake Bay.

[3] The garrison having been removed, there was no longer any regular means, until the missions had repenetrated the area, of keeping the Indians under observation.

[4] No certain reference elsewhere, but probably Charleston Harbour. It may be the same as Guacaya (cp. Swanton, *Indians*, p. 203).

[5] Cape Romain, lat. 32° 54′ N.

[6] I.e. they had passed into the Siouan-speaking area, while their interpreters probably spoke Muskegee.

[7] There is a measure of confusion in maps and descriptions of this period between Cape Fear and Cape Lookout (Trafalgar) and Cape Hatteras and 'Cape Kenrick' (San Juan) (cp. pp. 863–5, 868 below), so that it is not possible to be precise about the identification of the three capes.

[8] If this means what it appears to, that the harbours were north of the Capes, then they are Port Ferdinando and Trinity Harbour (cp. pp. 863–4 below).

[9] From Cape Henry to The Isaac is approximately 11¼ land miles.

[10] Midway between Cape Henry and Cape Charles the depth is now 21 ft. at low water, but off Cape Henry he should have got soundings of 60 ft.

[11] Standing off the entrance, on, say the 37th parallel, this is how the Bay would appear.

entrance and the place where one reaches the mainland it extends westward and north-westward for about three leagues. On the mainland, and in an east–west direction with the mouth, is a good harbour which has at its entrance a depth of three fathoms.[1] Rather less than two leagues from there and to the north-west is another harbour[2] where Captain Vicente González declared he had landed when he brought the religious of the *Compañia* [Jesuits], whom Don Luis put to death as has already been told.[3]

Captain Gonzáles said that on a plain which is beyond a bluff where there was a group of pine-trees, an altar had been erected and mass had been said. From there he returned towards the east to where the *adelantado* had been on the mainland, but within the bay and near some small islands and an inlet. There the *adelantado* had finished the upper works[4] of two frigates with which he had sailed to Castille from that place. Thereupon they departed from the said harbour, coasting along the mainland shore towards the north where they discovered another haven which seemed to be a good one and of great depth.[5] On shore there was abundance of large stones while the cape of land to the north formed a high headland.[6] These three harbours can be seen at one glance from the mouth of the bay, the last, however, only faintly.[7]

[1] The entrance to the Elizabeth River at Norfolk (Lewis and Loomie, *Spanish Jesuit mission*, p. 32).

[2] Probably Newport News on Hampton Roads.

[3] Oré, ed. Geiger, pp. 42–4. This was the Jesuit mission of 1570, wiped out in 1571 by the Indians, and avenged by Pedro Menéndez de Avilés in 1572. Félix Zubillaga (*La Florida: la misión jesuítica* (1941), pp. 396, 414–15; *Monumenta antiquae Floridae, 1566–72* (1946) pp. 51, 527–8) places the mission on the Potomac. Lewis and Loomie (*Spanish Jesuit mission*, passim, especially pp. 28–44) maintain the missionaries landed near Old Point Comfort (which fits in with Oré), worked up the James and, south of Jamestown, crossed by land to the York, where they settled.

[4] 'obras muertas'.

[5] The port of Yorktown (Lewis and Loomie, op. cit. pp. 34–5).

[6] Gloucester Point on the York.

[7] This must be taken with some scepticism, as three inlets cannot be seen from such a position (Lewis and Loomie, op. cit. pp. 35, 232–3). However, the Elizabeth River, the James and the York are probably meant.

As they continued to sail northwards the land from the east jutted into the bay. It narrowed so much that at one point, from the western shore towards the eastern side, it was only two leagues wide.[1] After that they discovered coves and inlets, as well as rivers, along the western shore. Then they came upon a large fresh-water river, which, where it entered the bay, was more than six fathoms deep. To the north of it there was very high land, with ravines, but without trees, cleared and like a green field and pleasant to behold. On the southern shore of this river the beach is very calm and it is covered with tiny pebbles. Farther up on the south bank of the same river appeared a delightful valley, wooded, with pleasant land, apparently fertile and suitable for stock-breeding and husbandry. This river was located in latitude 38 degrees.[2] They named it San Pedro.

They continued to sail north along the western shore and passed the night in a small inlet under the protection of high and well-shaded land. The next day many Indians came down to the beach and the one among them who appeared to have the highest standing wore a string of beads[3] round his neck which appeared to be of fine gold. There they seized an Indian youth of about fifteen years of age.[4]

Advancing further, they discovered many other harbours and rivers carrying much water which entered the bay from the western shore until they came to latitude 35°,[5] where they saw mountain ridges, very high, running S.W.–N.E. Still more rivers were found and soon, in the middle of the bay, a small island. Along the western shore the depth began to diminish so much that they

[1] This is not at present true of any part of the Bay so far south. González may have mistaken Tangier Island for the eastern shore, but it is nearly 14 miles from the mainland to the west.

[2] This latitude is correct for the Potomac River and it is most probably meant, though the other latitudes taken on the voyage (cp. p. 809 below) were too high by roughly half a degree. (Cp. Lewis and Loomie, *Spanish Jesuit mission*, pp. 191–2.)

[3] 'chagualas'.

[4] Evidently from the Wicomoco, one of the Powhatan tribes south of the Potomac (cp. p. 823 below).

[5] Apparently 39°.

could go no further, so they turned eastwards. Opposite the island the land was high, broken and well-wooded, while nearby on the eastern side there were shoals of greater or lesser depth. Sailing closer to the mainland on the east they found a channel of great depth.[1] Still further north they found that the hills began to close in the view.

In different places they found mouths of rivers and coves, while, where this bay ends in a semi-circle,[2] it is about as wide as Cádiz harbour. More than two or three leagues before they reached the head of the bay they found the water was fresh. That evening they were on the point of entering a river, west-north-west between some high hills and crags.[3] At high tide the mouth was more than three fathoms deep, but because night was falling they anchored about a quarter of a league inside. At dawn there was low tide, and it was almost a miracle that the bark avoided the great rocks by which the river was enclosed from one side to the other. At great risk, and with shouts of 'Boat here!' and 'Be on your guard there!', she sailed out as far as the mouth of the river which was clear. There they saw a small shad[4] floating on the water, dead and of no use. In a rivulet which came down between the rocks some small trout were seen. This was the eve of the feast of St John the Baptist[5] and out of devotion they called the river San Juan de las Peñas.[6]

They went up on the ridge at a level place and saw on the other side another river[7] and with it ranges of hills and rolling land.

[1] The Chesapeake Channel now runs close to the eastern shore from about lat. 39° 10′ to 39° 20′ N. (cp. Oré, ed. Geiger, p. 59).

[2] Cp. Smith, *Works*, I, 53, 117–18, 349–51, II, 422–4, for his visit in 1608. 'At the end of the Bay where it is 6 or 7 miles in breadth, there fall into it 4 small rivers, 3 of them issuing from diverse bogges invironed with high mountaines. There is one that commeth du[e] north, 3 or 4. daies iourn[e]y from the head of the Bay, and fals from rocks and mountaines. Vpon this riuer inhabit a people called Sasquesahanock' (p. 53).

[3] If we have followed González correctly there can be little doubt that this is the Susquehanna River.

[4] 'alosa', Shad, *Alosa sapidissima*.

[5] 23 June.

[6] St John of the Rocks.

[7] Possibly Octoraro Creek (Lewis and Loomie, *Spanish Jesuit mission*, p. 192).

Below, in the fold of this range there was a fair valley with trees and with fertile and pleasing land. From latitude 38° up to the end of the bay there is to be found a great quantity of chestnuts and large walnuts, as well as wild vines with swollen grapes.[1] And the same day they left the river and went some distance from the coast and the shore towards the east for a good while. There they discovered a very agreeable inlet, with thick woods where many deer appeared. They entered it towards the north, and sailed as far as its extremity.

There they landed on a pleasant beach, below some small gullies. At that end of the little bay there was a quiet and pleasant valley, with trees but without any craggy places. In it they found many deer. They killed one of these and made a feast of it on the day of the grace-giving St John the Baptist.[2]

Captain Vicente González and the pilot Ginés Pinzón[3] took the latitude which they found to be a little over 40°.[4] They had taken it also at the first harbour after they had entered the bay on the mainland and there they found it to be 37° 37′.[5] On that same day, the feast of St John, they left the end of the bay and sailed southwards along the western shore. In view of the fact that one of the Indians had been captured there (as mentioned before) no Indian appeared on the western shore until the feast of the apostles Peter and Paul.[6] On the morning of that day they crossed to the eastern shore and came to some small islands which are within sight of the mouth of the bay.[7] There they landed.

From that place to a spot further on, and in sight of the inlets[8] where the *adelantado* had been, they steered for the shore, but because the water had so little depth they could not bring the bark

[1] Cp. pp. 330, 350–1 above, although the species are not necessarily the same.
[2] 24 June.
[3] Not identified elsewhere.
[4] Chesapeake Bay ends in lat. 39° 36′ N. (at North East River, long. 75° 56′ W., and at Elk River, long. 75° 50′).
[5] The 37th parallel runs through Old Point Comfort on Hampton Roads.
[6] 29 June.
[7] Probably the Cherrystone Islands (Lewis and Loomie, op. cit. p. 192).
[8] Note the plural, cp. pp. 805–6 above.

to land. Many Indians, of both sexes, came down to the beach.[1] When the Indians waded into the water up to their knees the Spaniards seized one of them and sailed away. When they left the bay it was evening. All[2] that night they worked their way south with the aid of a strong west wind. The same was true of the whole of the next day until sunset. The wind then freshening so much they were forced to dismast the ship and to bring her to the shore by means of oars. They entered on a bar of very little depth, and inside found a large cove,[3] the southern part of which at low tide was almost dry. The view towards the north gave on to a great part of the bay[4] and revealed a large arm in the north-west curve which was heavily wooded.[5] And along the shore towards the north there was another opening[6] which appeared to be better than that by which they had entered, this part of the coast for about a league, between one bar and another, being low and free of sand.[7] And

[1] They are likely to have been of the Chiskiac or Kecoughtan tribes (cp. map in Speck, *Powhatan tribes of Virginia*, pl. 1).

[2] The text (as in Father Lopez's edition) is:

'y por ir cargando el viento, desarbolaron, y con fuerza de remos llegaron a la costa, y entraron en una barra de muy poco fondo, y dentro hacía grande encenada, que de baja mar por la banda del Sur quedaba casi en seco. A una vista y por la del Norte quedaba gran podazo de bahía y mostraba un grande brazo en la vuelta del Norueste de luengo, de arboleda muy espesa, y en la costa, por la banda del Norte, hacía otra boca, al paracer mejor que la por donde entraron. Y el pedazo de costa, cosa de una legua, entre una barra y otra es baja y pelada de arena, y por la parte de dentro adonde llegaron, había varadero señalado de chalupas y en tierra cantidad de pozos hechos de pipas inglesas y otras señales de despojos, como de haber estado allí golpe de gente.'

The translation here departs substantially from that of Dr Geiger.

[3] All the indications are that this was Port Ferdinando (pp. 863–4 below). Lane gave its bar as being at 12 ft. at high water (p. 202 above).

[4] Pamlico Sound.

[5] Roanoke Sound, and the eastern shore of Roanoke Island.

[6] Port Lane (cp. p. 863 below).

[7] The small island between the two openings in the Bank (cp. p. 863 below), the last words meaning, apparently, that it was covered with vegetation. Juan Menéndez Marqués added a further note in 1605 on the inlets, which suggests that the islet consisted mainly of a sand-dune: 'For landmarks there are three great sand-dunes on the shore which have two entrances' (Lewis and Loomie, *Spanish Jesuit mission*, p. 200).

on the inside of the little bay they had entered there were signs of a slipway for small vessels,[1] and on land a number of wells[2] made with English casks,[3] and other debris indicating that a considerable number of people had been here.[4]

The next day they again departed, finding the latitude to be $35\frac{1}{2}°$.[5] Continuing towards the south they passed the three capes previously mentioned.[6] Then in turn they passed the ports of Cayagua, Santa Elena and all the land known as Guale[7] until they arrived at the island of San Pedro[8] which was at that time thickly populated by the Indians. There they found Fray Baltasar López who was beginning to gather abundant fruit in that mission and had already baptized many as Christians.[9] By these the navigators were well received and provided with what they asked for, they having arrived in great need of supplies.

After they passed the bar of this island, they returned to San Agustín in the month of July in the same year 1588. This expedition of exploration and discovery, from start to finish, they made in a little less than a month and a half, according to the report, as exact

[1] The slipway is likely to have been used for unloading from vessels in the harbour, and anchored off it, since July 1585 when it was most probably built (cp. p. 168 above), and would have proved useful for laying-up and repairing boats and the pinnace.

[2] 'pozos hechos de pipas' 'pozos', wells or pits, not 'posos' dregs.

[3] The barrels had evidently been sunk in the sand to catch rain-water. The inhabitants of the Banks depend for water largely on such means of catchment, though White does mention a source of water nearby (p. 616 above).

[4] As the colonists left by White apparently did not have a pinnace (cp. pp. 547–8, 615 above), it is unlikely that they visited Port Ferdinando frequently after the ships had gone. This debris had thus been lying for nearly a year, since the end of the previous August. The Spaniards, however, continued to believe that the main English settlement was on Chesapeake Bay (cp. pp. 773–7).

[5] 35° 50′ N.

[6] Cp. p. 805 above.

[7] For the extent of the province known as Guale see the map in J. T. Lanning, *Spanish missions of Georgia*, p. 152.

[8] Apparently in Cumberland Sound at 30° 40′ N.

[9] Maynard Geiger, *The Franciscan conquest of Florida, 1573–1618* (Washington, D.C., 1937); and his *Biographical dictionary of the Franciscans in Spanish Florida and Cuba, 1528–1841* (Paterson, N.J., 1940), s.n.; Lanning, *Spanish missions of Georgia*, pp. 63–9. The Franciscans had been there since 1584.

as it is detailed,[1] made by the said sergeant-major, Juan Menéndez, who is now[2] the royal treasurer in the city of San Agustín.

Because the description of the bay of Madre de Dios and of the harbours, with the observations and bearings of their course, is so trustworthy and so necessary for the time when your majesty may be pleased to command that the bay be cleared of the robbers who have occupied and fortified it for thirty years,[3] it seemed well that I should dwell on it at some length.

The same information was obtained from what was learnt at la Habana from a pilot, Pero Díaz Franco,[4] namely that the harbour which was referred to above as being at $35\frac{1}{2}°$,[5] where the lees in the English barrels[6] were seen, was the site of the English settlement. He said further that he had been taken on two voyages to that place[7] and that at that time there were some 320 men and as many women there.[8]

To the question[9] why they had not seen the settlement from the bark, although they had reached the place where the wells were, he answered that it was not possible to see it since it was ten leagues[10] away on the arm of the sea bearing away from the

[1] 'tan puntual y prolija'. It has not yet been found. If it should be it would probably add substantially to the summary, valuable as it is, which Oré gives. What Juan Menéndez Marqués has left us is given on pp. 816–21 below, but this is less valuable than his original narrative.

[2] This gives us a later limiting date for the composition of Oré's narrative since Juan Menéndez Marqués, still treasurer of Florida, arrived home on two years' leave in May 1620 (*Coll. doc. inéditos de Indias*, 2nd ser., XVIII, 182), and probably did not return.

[3] Oré spent some time denouncing the English settlement of Virginia, 1607–16, in the latter part of his book, but he implies here that he thought the English had been continuously on the Chesapeake Bay since 1587.

[4] Possibly Oré had seen a different version of the pilot's story than is given on pp. 786–95 above, or had had an oral report. [5] Diaz said $36\frac{1}{4}°$ (p. 789 above).

[6] 'los posos en las pipas ingleses', cp. p. 811, n. 2.

[7] He had reached Virginia only once, in 1586 (cp. pp. 789–94).

[8] He gave 210 as the number of White's colony of 1587 (p. 793 above).

[9] Clearly this question was put to Diaz in a different context from those which lay behind his deposition as we have it. There is no indication in the latter that he was asked to compare his findings with those of González, though the additional information may well have been gleaned from him by Pedro Menéndez Marqués at Havana in April 1589 (cp. p. 796). [10] Cp. p. 106 above.

northern opening into the harbour. Further, they were trying to conceal even having discovered good land until they could settle and fortify it.[1]

The same things were said by David Glavid,[2] who was brought to the city of San Agustín from la Habana, where he had been forced to serve in the galleys. He said that the English had brought him thither by force. But he said further that they had penetrated the interior up a river for many leagues and that they had obtained a quantity of gold dust. This David Glavid who gave this information said that he was an Irishman.

Having obtained accounts of this voyage from the captain, Vicente González, and the sergeant-major, as well as the information the pilot, Pedro Díaz Franco,[3] gave, General Pedro Menéndez desired to go to Castille, leaving in his place his brother-in-law, Juan de Posadas,[4] and taking with him his first cousin,[5] the sergeant-major Juan Menéndez. But he encountered adverse weather and suffered a torn sail. This brought him in sight of Bermuda, Puerto Rico and Santo Domingo, and, being unable to make another port, he arrived at La Yeguana in great distress. Attempting to continue his voyage and to disembogue by Cape San Nicolas, he was prevented by lack of sufficient wind. Consequently, he was forced to double the point of Mayci and take the old channel to la Habana.[6] From there he went to San Agustín, whence he left

[1] Diaz may well have been right that the reason for locating the fort on Roanoke Island was concealment for such purposes (cp. p. 7 above), but the publication of Hariot's tract in 1588 broke the veil of secrecy (cp. p. 8 above).

[2] Oré is clearly here using the deposition which we have below (pp. 834–8).

[3] He had been in Havana in April (p. 796 above) and apparently had learnt there about Diaz and may have even interrogated him further. Juan Menéndez Marqués speaks of him in 1605, as 'Pero diaz pimienta piloto vuestro de gerachico' (Lewis and Loomie, *Spanish Jesuit mission*, p. 200).

[4] Cp. p. 796 above.

[5] Nephew seems to be correct (Ruidíaz, *Florida*, II, 629–38), but he was also called 'son' (*Coll. doc. inéditos de Indias*, 2nd ser., XIV, 279). He, himself, like Oré, preferred 'cousin' (p. 816).

[6] He does not mention these difficulties, p. 796 above, but suggests that his call at Havana was premeditated. (Cp. p. 821 below; *Coll. doc. inéditos de Indias*, 2nd ser., XVII, 13.)

again for Castille on 18 May[1] 1589. He arrived at the port of San Lucár on July 5[2] in the same year, accompanied by Fr. Alonso de Reinoso[3] and the sergeant-major. He then went to court and gave an account of the discovery, previously described, to his majesty.[4]

He was told to return to Havana with four supply ships containing infantry, stores and munitions and from there to take such galleys and merchant ships as seemed fitting and go to San Agustín. There he was to post the new troops and take the seasoned ones with him to $35\frac{1}{2}°$.[5] He was to enter San Agustín with the galleys alone, since the bar has little depth, and to send on the supply ships to the bay. There, after reconnoitring the lie of the land, he was to erect a fort in the place which appeared most suitable to him. He was to leave there the best equipment he could afford with 300 infantrymen. Moreover, he was to give instructions to the commander[6] in charge there that, at the most opportune time, either he or his lieutenant was to explore the interior in order to discover the land, familiarize themselves with its topography, and find out whether there were any mines there.[7]

Such was the understanding. Nevertheless, these orders were not carried out because soon after others were issued, instructing General Pedro Menéndez to go to the Main with two *galizabras*[8]

[1] 9/19 May (p. 796 above).

[2] 25 June/5 July (confirmed above, ibid).

[3] Fr. Alonso de Reynosa was head of the Franciscan mission to Florida (Lanning, *Spanish missions of Georgia*, pp. 63–9).

[4] It is not unlikely that Oré's sole source for the discussions and decisions of 1589 was Juan Menéndez Marqués's letter of 1606 (pp. 816–20 below). No contemporary information has yet been found in Spain.

[5] To Port Ferdinando, so as to destroy the English fort and settlement on Roanoke Island before going on to Chesapeake Bay.

[6] 'alcalde'. [7] Cp. pp. 817–18 below.

[8] The famous 'galizabras', called by the English 'the king's frigates', were new and enlarged frigates, rigged like 'zabras' with lateen sails, but keeping their oars for emergencies, and with 20 guns. They were very fast and their development by Santa Cruz (after the 'galeoncetes' developed at Havana by Pedro Menéndez de Avilés) was a vital factor in enabling the Spaniards to preserve the American silver from English depredations (cp. Fernández Duro, *Armada española*, III (1897), 184–5; Corbett, *Drake*, II, 338–40; Sir Richard Hawkins, *Observations*, ed. J. A. Williamson, pp. liv, lxxiii, 29).

in which he was to bring back to Castille the silver, gold and pearls belonging to his majesty. This he did, leaving the bay of Cádiz on 16 May 1590 and returning with the treasure to the port of Viana de Camiña on September 4 in the same year.[1] The sergeant-major, Juan Menéndez, took the news of his arrival to his majesty of glorious memory at the Escorial, while the treasure was brought to the mint at Segovia.

In the year 1591 Pedro Menéndez was placed in charge of the frigates belonging to the Indies fleet as well as of the transport of the silver from the Main and from New Spain. Having gone to Nombre de Dios he returned to San Lucár de Barrameda in the month of January 1592.

In the following year, 1593, his majesty was informed that in the *presidio* of San Agustín the people were refusing obedience to the governor, Gutierre de Miranda, who had charge of the government in virtue of a royal warrant.[2] Likewise, Captain Juan de Posadas, who had come to take the treasurer's place on the death of Juan de Cebadilla, was drowned. When the king received this news he ordered General Pedro Menéndez to go to the *presidio* of San Agustín and put down the uprising against the governor. But he had scarcely gone before sickness overtook him and he was forced to ask the king to send over another suitable person in his place. So there were provided for Florida a governor and captain-general, Domingo Martínez de Avendaño;[3] a treasurer, Bartolome de Argüelles; and a comptroller, Juan Menéndez Marqués, the sergeant-major.

The Indian who had been apprehended on the eastern side of the bay died in the harbour of San Pedro of rage and melancholy.

[1] Juan Menéndez Marqués also refers to this remarkably swift and effective voyage, the value of which for Spanish *morale* was almost as great as it was for her exchequer, p. 818; cp. *Coll. doc. inéditos de Indias*, 2nd ser., XIV (1923), 93, and for his subsequent voyages, 1591–7, vols. XIV and XV, passim.

[2] Oré implies that he was something less than full governor, indicating he was still acting in the place of Pedro Menéndez Marqués.

[3] He received news of his appointment on 10 February 1594 (Oré, ed. Geiger, p. 62).

The one who had been seized first went to Castille. He accompanied the general on a *gallizabra*, but after the return voyage he died at Viana of the small-pox.[1] Being already a Christian they buried him in the convent of Santo Domingo. He was a clever fellow and spoke much about the excellence and fertility of his land and about the gold that was in it. This, in his native tongue, he called *tapisco*.[2] . . .

155. JUAN MENÉNDEZ MARQUÉS ON THE ATTEMPTS TO DISCOVER THE ENGLISH SETTLEMENTS IN VIRGINIA[3]

If I remember aright, during the year 1589 my first cousin, General Pero Menéndez Marqués, came to Spain with his majesty's leave,[4] after having been for more than fourteen years governor of this fortress.[5] He arrived in Madrid at the end of July of that year and gave an account to his majesty, the members of his royal council of the Indies and, particularly to Señor Don Juan de

[1] In September 1590.

[2] Juan Menéndez Marqués cites this Indian, pp. 820–1 below. Oré goes on to give some account of Spanish investigations of the Virginia colony in 1609 and 1611 (cp. I. A. Wright, 'Spanish policy towards Virginia, 1606–12', in *American Historical Review*, XXV, 448–79; *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, LIV, 61–6; Alexander Brown, *Genesis of the United States*, passim). He ends with a diatribe against English intervention in North America.

[3] Extracts, translated, from his 'Relation', 7 June 1606. Seville, A.G.I., Patronato 1. 1. 1/19, printed in E. Ruidíaz y Caravia, *La Florida su conquista y colonización por Pedro Menéndez de Avilés*, II (Madrid, 1893), pp. 495–509. We lack Juan Menéndez Marqués's full report on the 1588 voyage (cp. p. 812 above), but he compiled at various times a series of memoranda on his experiences north of Santa Elena (*a*) at an unnamed date, when he gave evidence before visiting commissioners, which he cites on p. 818 below, (*b*) on 20 September 1602 (Library of Congress, Lowery Transcripts, IV (1598–1602), from Seville, A.G.I. 54. 5. 14), a long passage from which, that dealing with the 1588 expedition, he cites in his relation of 1606, (*c*) a letter of 21 November 1605 (A.G.I. 54. 5. 9; Lewis and Loomie, *Spanish Jesuit mission*, pp. 200–4), and (*d*) a briefer mention in a letter to Philip III of 5 January 1608, noted on p. 821 below. The passage added from the 1602 version is enclosed in square brackets.

[4] Cp. pp. 813–14 above.

[5] San Agustín, Menéndez Marqués's warrant of appointment has not been seen, but according to this was made in 1575. He did not reach Florida until 1577 (cp. p. 802 above).

Diaguez[1] and Señor Juan de Ibarra[2] of various matters, amongst others of the discovery of the Bay of Madre de Dios del Jacan and the information he had of an English settlement on that coast.[3] I, myself, had given a verbal account of the discovery to the last two gentlemen as I had taken part in the expedition in the capacity of sergeant-major of the fortress. The following year, 1590, General Pedro Menéndez Marqués having been ordered by his majesty to go to the Mainland to bring back the silver, gold and pearls which, as crown property, were to have been brought by the *flota*, the general arrived at San Lucár, accompanied by his nephew, Captain Pedro Menendez.[4] I was already at San Lucár, by the instructions of the duke of Medina Sidonia, awaiting their arrival. The general told me that the council of the Indies had decided that he should set out with four storeships in which there would be infantry, arms, munitions, stores and provisions. On reaching Havana he was to pick up some galleys and frigates which appeared to him suitable for entering the enemy's harbour, the entrance to which was shallow.[5] He was then to put in at this fortress[6] and embark those experienced soldiers who had proved satisfactory, leaving an equal number in their place. He was to proceed from there to attempt the destruction of the enemy's fort and settlement. The storeships were to be sent ahead to the Bay of Madre de Dios del Jacan, with the surplus provisions and stores, and after he had achieved his objective,[7] he was, with the galleys and the squadron, to go to the Bay, to explore it, to take note of its situation, harbour and entrance and head.[8] He was then to establish in the place which appeared to him most suitable a fort capable of holding 300 infantrymen as a garrison, under a

[1] Juan de Idiáquez, the king's secretary.
[2] Secretary of the Council of the Indies, cp. pp. 768–9 above.
[3] No detailed information on those episodes has been found so far, cp. p. 814 above.
[4] Not otherwise encountered.
[5] Port Ferdinando at lat. 35° 50′ N.
[6] San Agustín.
[7] I.e. the destruction of the English establishment on Roanoke Island.
[8] Thus elaborating the information already gathered by González in 1588.

governor,[1] with orders that, when an opportunity arose, he or his lieutenant should penetrate into the interior with half the infantry to try to find out the nature and lie of the land and whether it contained any kinds of precious metals or stones. When that fortress was as well established as this, and was under the captain's control as this is, I, if I remember aright what the general told me, was to be named governor of the fort and presidency.[2]

We made the voyage to the Main with the two *galizabras* which carried his majesty's silver, gold and pearls that year and with them we entered Brava, Portugal.[3] It was I who carried the news of their arrival to his majesty. Thereafter, I heard nothing more, nor do I know of any discussions about the voyage to Jacan. I, myself, stated my opinion of the country and its mineral resources in an account I wrote at the request of Don Fernando de Baldés who had been instructed by the governor of Cuba, Senor Don Pedro de Baldés, to visit this fortress and report whether, in his opinion, it should be abandoned.[4] This account I transcribe as follows:

So far as the conversion of the native Indians of these provinces is concerned, it seems that no one is better qualified to give a more accurate and dispassionate account than the members of the Franciscan order who, on the behalf and cost of the crown, were engaged in this task, apart, that is, from what I, myself have seen during the fifteen years I have been serving his majesty[5] in this land in company with my cousin General Pedro Menéndez Marqués. During that time there have been Christian Indians in the town of Nombre de Dios and in San Sebastian, both near here.[6] Towards the end of 1587 Fr. Alonso de Raynoso arrived[7] from

[1] 'alcalde'.

[2] Apart from this last item, Oré conserves the principal points in the proposed expedition of 1590 (cp. p. 814 above).

[3] This should be Viana de Camiña, Portugal (cp. p. 815 above).

[4] This would appear to have been a 'specific' *visita* (cp. Haring, *Spanish empire*, pp. 153–7), but the date is uncertain.

[5] If Juan Menéndez Marqués arrived with the general in 1577 this would make the date of the inquiry 1592, but the troubles of 1593 would make that year a more likely one (cp. p. 815 above).

[6] I.e. near San Agustín, cp. p. 803 above. [7] Cp. p. 814 above.

Spain to take up his duties as a missionary. I noted that the Franciscans and General Pedro Menéndez arranged for the missionaries to be distributed to all the villages from the island of San Pedro up to this fortress; also in San Sebastian and an extensive area of the Rio Dulce under the control of the chieftain Pedro Marqués. I noted also that the work of these missionaries quickly bore fruit. I especially remember how Fr. Baltasar Lopez, who was and still is vicar on the island of San Pedro and the missionary then in charge at San Juan brought with them to this fortress a number of Indian chieftains to be converted, and how they were baptized in the cathedral, amongst them Cazacolo, one of the most famous and most feared chieftains in this territory, with whom came his wife and children. In the course of 1588, at the general's command, I went with Captain Vicente González to explore the Bay of Madre de Dios del Jacan and to obtain information about the English settlement. On my return, at San Pedro, I found a number of Indian converts who, with manifest signs of goodwill and devotion, attended mass and listened to the gospel....[1]

Besides the abovementioned, I proposed to indicate, if necessary, harbours from the Bay of Santa Elena up to the Bay of Madre de Dios del Jacan the entrance to which is at 37°. These harbours could be used by vessels of up to 500 tons, and could accommodate such vessels for repair. This is especially true of the harbour at the Bay of Madre de Dios, the entrance to which runs north-west–south-east, there being neither reef nor sand bank along the whole of the entrance nor yet outside it on the seaward side. It has a depth of eight fathoms and a width at the entrance of more than two leagues.[2] When the bay is entered the expanse of water is so great that the land on all sides almost disappears from view.[3] On reaching the mainland after sailing inside for about three leagues in a north-

[1] Cp. p. 811 above. A long passage with no relevance to Jacan (Ruidíaz, *Florida*, II, pp. 498–502) is omitted. When the translation is resumed he is giving an account of the coast and harbours northward from San Agustín. Lewis and Loomie (*Spanish Jesuit mission*, pp. 205–8) include the two paragraphs following.

[2] Cp. p. 805 above, which it confirms.

[3] Cp. pp. 805–6 above.

westerly direction there is to be found another large harbour, the depth at the entrance being three fathoms.[1] Coasting along the mainland shore of the bay in a northerly direction excellent harbours and abundant fresh-water rivers are to be found, also well-wooded valleys and what appears to be fertile land, particularly from the 38th parallel northwards as far as 40°, where the bay and its harbours come to an end at the foot of lofty mountain ranges, the lower slopes of which and the valleys amongst them appear fertile and well suited to the cultivation of crops and cattle-breeding. Such is the force of the great rivers that flow down the mountains that they form at this furthestmost point of the bay a large fresh-water pool, and from the narrowest point of the bay to this extremity would, it appears to me, be at least two leagues.[2]

At latitude 38° I saw myself an Indian with rings of gold round his neck.[3] Another Indian was brought from those parts[4] to this fortress, who, when I showed him a chain of gold, said that in his country there was an abundance of that metal, which was called *tapisco*.[5] When he was shown a brass candlestick he said that there was also much brass and that it was called *guapaçina*.[6] On being shown copper he said likewise that there was much of it, but it was of no value and the Indians were not interested in it: they called it *oçoco*.[7] When he was asked where these metals were to be found and how the Indians obtained them, he said that if he left his village at daybreak he would reach by mid-day the foot of a tall mountain, down which fell a great torrent of water which, at ground-level, formed a large pool. The Indians, diving into this pool, emerged with their hands full, sometimes of pebbles and sand, other times of grains of ore as big as chickpeas,[8] some larger,

[1] On p. 806 above it is said that this was due west of the entrance, which would make it Hampton Roads.

[2] This is rather more general than the version given by Oré (pp. 807–9 above).

[3] Cp. p. 807 above. 'Chagualas' is again the word used.

[4] For whom see p. 816 above.

[5] The meaning is simply a metal, apparently 'red metal'.

[6] The meaning is far from clear, but it may simply be 'long metal'.

[7] 'sharp yellow stone'?

[8] On natural copper see pp. 268–9, 332–3 above.

others smaller, of the three metals mentioned above. On being asked how they treated the ores to make rings, he replied that they melted them over a candle and then beat them into shape.[1]

[On October 28[2] in the same year General Menéndez Marqués, accompanied by myself, left this port to go to Spain. We sailed northwards and passed within sight of Bermuda to the north. We then made the island of Puerto Rico, but could not enter the harbour that day because of the force of the wind. Putting about, and under stress of weather, we kept a look-out for Santo Domingo which port, however, we were unable to enter, and so went on to Yaguana. From there we set out with the intention of doubling Cape San Nicolás and, making the promontory of Cuba, we reached Havana by the Old Channel from whence we returned to this place.[3]]

[1] This sentence reads 'y preguntado de qué manera desacian aquellos granos y hacian las chagualas dellos, dijo que echándolos en la candela y dándoles golpes' (Ruidíaz, *Florida*, II, p. 502, not included in 1602 version). As it reads it does not sound in the least convincing (cp. pp. 268–9 above). Lewis and Loomie (op. cit. pp. 278–9), however, consider that accepted views of Indian metal resources and extraction techniques in the Virginia–North Carolina region require some revision.

[2] This paragraph is added from the account of 10/20 September 1602. It fits in best after the first paragraph on p. 819 above, but it is, perhaps, less confusing to have it here (cp. Oré's version, pp. 813–14 above).

[3] His letter of 26 December 1607/5 January 1608 to Philip III (cp. p. 816 above; Library of Congress, Lowery transcripts, VI, from Seville, A.G.I. 54. 5. 9; translated in Brooks and Averette, *Old St Augustine* (1909), pp. 77–8) again discusses the harbours of the Florida coast, mentions his discovery of a good harbour at Cayagua at lat. 33½ N. (cp. p. 805 above) in 1588, and urges the despatch of an exploring expedition into the interior where Moyano had entered (cp. pp. 827–8 below), 'or, if it appeared necessary, there was the Bay of Madre de Dios del Jacan, the entrance to which was at 37° and which ended at a mountain range at 40°, where I had also been in the same year in search of the English settlement'. He evidently did not know of the English settlement at Jamestown. His recollections, together with Pedro Menéndez Marqués' letter of 1588 and González's account (pp. 822–5 above), formed the basis for the pioneer paper on the 1588 voyage, L. D. Scisco, 'The voyage of Vicente González, 1588', in *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XLII (1947), pp. 95–100.

156. VICENTE GONZÁLEZ'S RECOLLECTIONS OF THE 1588 VOYAGE[1]

The relation which Captain Vizente González gave of what he observed on the voyage which he made, under orders from Pedro Menéndez Marqués, governor of Florida, in two pinnaces with fifty men[2] to reconnoitre the fort which it was understood the French[3] had made on the Santa Elena coast, with a succinct discourse at the end on the fortification of the said coast and the forts which his majesty holds there.

Captain Vizente González says that Pero Melendez Marques, governor of Florida, had news from the Indians of the Santa Elena coast that the French had a fort there, whither he ordered him to proceed, taking with him fifty soldiers and two pinnaces, with all caution that could be in order to prevent the coast from falling into the hands of the enemy, and thus he did, coasting along the shore towards the Bacallaos.[4] He entered into all the harbours he discovered, which were many, and one of them was two leagues wide at the mouth and extended thirty leagues into the interior. It was five or six leagues across at its widest part and four at the narrowest, until it reached the foot of the mountain range, where there was a powerful chieftain with many subjects who had under

[1] Translated. Museo Naval, Madrid, Colección Navarrete, XIV, fo. 383 (copy in Library of Congress, Lowery transcripts, III (1580–97), following a document dated 12 August 1588). Lewis and Loomie (*Spanish Jesuit mission*, pp. 193–9) print it and report the location of the original as A.G.I., Audiencia de México 92. 2. 1. It is ascribed (Vicente Vela, *Indice*, no. 373) to 1593 and this is possible in view of the *visita* of about that date (cp. p. 818 above). Yet the lapses of memory which it reveals might well suggest that it is much later, and it may therefore have been taken down during the investigations of 1598–1602 (cp. pp. 826–38 below). He is attempting to answer two questions (1) on the existence of gold-bearing territories north of the Florida establishment, and (2) on the possibilities of access to New Mexico, and is not giving an account of the voyage.

[2] One bark and thirty men (cp. p. 804 above).

[3] English, not French, though it is possible he is confusing it in his mind with earlier searches for French interlopers.

[4] Newfoundland. He was to sail up to lat. 39° N. (p. 779 above).

him all the chiefs of the territory.[1] They found one chief[2] who went about with four or five rings of gold in his ears, and on his head one piece a palm and a half long and six fingers broad.[3] The rest of the Indians wore copper in a similar manner. He asked the chief where they got what they were wearing.[4] To which he replied that it was three days' journey away from the foot of that range for a laden Indian, which would be twenty-five or thirty leagues, There there was a mountain which contained nothing else.[5] He [González] said to him that indeed he had a great quantity of it, because in his country there was likewise much and it was worth little. The Indian said that it was the same with him and that over there it was esteemed little, while that which the Indians wore, which was copper, they esteemed very much. Captain Vizente González answered that we esteemed it [copper] greatly, in order that he might give the Indian to understand that we were not anxious to find out about the gold, because González realised that if he appeared to desire it, the Indian would bring the gold, a course which did not seem wise, since he did not wish to excite the Indians or [the cupidity of his own followers] since many persons who were with him, saw what he had seen.[6] They have

[1] This was not, as would appear from his way of expressing himself, on the Susquehanna River at the head of the Bay, but on the river named by himself San Pedro, apparently the Potomac. The reference would appear to be the earliest yet found to the Powhatan confederacy, either under Powhatan or a predecessor, to the south of the river. [2] Cp. p. 807 above, for a briefer reference.

[3] 12 in. long by 4 in. broad. Barlowe (p. 102 above) had described a similar head ornament, but other parallels are not certain, though it could have been a gorget, normally worn on the chest (cp. pp. 103, 438–9 above), placed on the head in imitation of European hats or helmets.

[4] González had been there before in 1570–2 (cp. p. 806 above), so that we may assume that he could speak a little Powhatan Algonquian, in which case the tribe may have been the Wicomoco (see Speck, *Powhatan Indians*, map) or an adjacent tribe.

[5] A not dissimilar story was told by Powhatan in 1608 (cp. Strachey, *Hist. of travell*, pp. 35, 40, 132; Smith, *Works*, I, 19–20; Swanton, *Indians*, p. 492–3). These tales derive, presumably, from the Lake Michigan copper workings (cp. p. 269 above).

[6] This elaborate and double deception may be an afterthought on the part of González. There may, indeed, have been trade-copper of two or more distinct shades.

many pearls, and very large ones, except that they are of a purple colour.[1]

Behind this mountain range is Nueva Mexico, as it is called, which, from the foot of the range, over it, to the other side was a five day journey.[2] Here they have a large house with four or five rooms above, and covered externally with plaster.[3] They have many small cows[4] and much silver, as the Indians themselves admit.[5] From this land towards the south there are many silver-mines and mines of crystal. There is also a small ridge containing diamonds, from which the soldiers have taken some to Florida and brought them to Spain, not knowing their value, one of them worth 500 ducats, and another a hundred doubloons, and because they did not know what they were worth they lost heavily on them. In Florida there were soldiers who had been at the silver mines and at the diamond-hill who had a great desire to go there.[6] A Franciscan friar, provincial of the order in Florida,[7] could give information about this, as he knew about it, and also another soldier who is here. In this land they have much maize and beans for food, which are the principal articles in their diet. They have also plenty of cherries, plums, grapes, dried chestnuts,[8] which last all the year round. They have, too, apples, medlars,[9] walnuts, much hunting of all kinds just as in Spain, while the climate of that land is also similar.

[1] From the heating of the shells? (Cp. pp. 260–1 above.)

[2] Literally 'which was a journey of five days from the foot of the mountain to beyond the mountain'. For the New Mexico mirage, cp. pp. 494, 549–50.

[3] The long-house is authentic and Barlowe reported one with five rooms (p. 107 above); the upstairs could refer to an interior piled platform (cp. pp. 425–7); the plaster is fictitious.

[4] Cp. p. 765 above.

[5] On silver, see p. 333 above. He may well have seen a few small ornaments.

[6] This implied a longer residence than the 1588 expedition put in, though it may be a reference to his explorations made in 1571 in this area. The diamonds are fictitious, though some semi-precious stones may have been found. He may be confusing the Chesapeake Bay expeditions with the Pardo-Moyano explorations of 1565–7 (cp. pp. 827–31 below).

[7] Fr. Alonso de Reynoso? Cp. p. 814 above. He was not a provincial (Lewis and Loomie, op. cit. p. 198).

[8] Cp. p. 350 above.

[9] Cp. p. 351 above.

The English colony,[1] according to what the Indians have said, is established from this village northwards[2] on a river from which, the said Captain Vicente González is certain, there is a passage to the South Sea, because, in discussion with the Indians as to whether there was any river that went through to the other sea, they replied that, further up from where they were, there was one such river which passed through to the other sea,[3] and so he holds it as certain that the Englishmen are there. To get to this harbour he did not think it was necessary to go to any part of the Indies [first] but to make this voyage direct [from Spain]. He did not think they needed to enter a channel or go out through the Baama Channel, and the same was true of their return voyage. They could come within a month, and a month and a half was the most that they need take. It appears to the said Captain Vicente González that the fort of Santa Elena must be linked up with that of San Agustín. Then with part of the forces there and some from here [San Agustín][4] it would be possible to set out on a journey to make the discovery without incurring any loss, as the soldiers now in Florida would be very willing to go on account of the news they have had of the riches of that place through some of them having seen its wealth with their own eyes.[5]

Vicente González

[1] González has by now remembered, or has been reminded, that it was the English and not the French he had been looking for in 1588.

[2] He must have known very well that it was south of the Chesapeake Bay entrance that his expedition had found traces of the English. Had there been any rumours of them being on Chesapeake Bay it is very likely that Juan Menéndez Marqués would have mentioned them.

[3] The search for a passage in temperate latitudes to the Pacific was as much a preoccupation of the Spaniards as of the English (cp. pp. 273–4 above; Wright, *Further English voyages*, p. lxx; Lewis and Loomie, *Spanish Jesuit mission*, p. 199).

[4] Presumably Spain, in view of his statement above that they could sail direct to Chesapeake Bay, but possibly San Agustín.

[5] The concluding sentences would appear to link González's statement with Méndez de Canzo's plans of 1600 for a renewed attempt on Chesapeake Bay (pp. 829–32 below), rather than with the evacuation plans of *c.* 1592–3 (p. 818 above).

157. $\frac{18}{28}$ FEBRUARY 1600.

GONZÁLO MÉNDEZ DE CANZO TO PHILIP III[1]

Sire,

Your majesty's letter of 9 November 1598 I received on 18 January 1600 in reply to two of mine setting out the situation of these provinces in relation to your royal service. [Your majesty's letter I had] through ensign Hernando de Mestas, but it has been delayed in reaching me as you will perceive from this acknowledgement, inasmuch as the said ensign had informed me that a French ship captured him off Puerto Rico. While he managed to send the packet ashore they held him for more than five months as he had been wounded by two arquebus shots. Although they managed to send the packet on from Puerto Rico to Havana a certain person called Licona kept it hidden from the governor Don Juan Maldonado, and if the said ensign had not come there himself it seems that it would not have reached me at all, seeing that the French had him for five months and that it took him five days to trace the packet once he reached Havana....[2]

Furthermore, your majesty requests from me a very detailed account, derived from the nearest Indians and their chieftains, of Tama[3] and its territory so that inland discoveries can be continued. Having conferred with the most experienced persons in this fortress and the chieftains I am to send a full report of all I learn together with, if possible, the plan and description of the country it is considered desirable to enter.

[1] Extracts, translated. Seville, A.G.I. 54. 5. 9 (Santo Domingo 224). There are copies in Library of Congress, Lowery Transcripts, IV, and in the University of California, Berkeley, Bancroft Collection. The greater part of it was translated by Miss Katherine Reding in *Georgia Historical Magazine*, VIII (1924), 215–21, and this translation has been of assistance in the present version.

[2] A paragraph dealing with the king's support of the church in Florida is omitted.

[3] Tama, according to Swanton (*Indians*, pp. 189–90, 208–10), lay in central Georgia between the Ochmulgee and Oconee Rivers, tributaries of the Altamaha, and was occupied by the Yamasee and Tamathli, Muskogean tribes.

In complying with your majesty's orders I would recall that in a paragraph of the letter which I sent to your majesty on 23 February 1598, by Ensign Hernando de Mestas,[1] I advised your majesty that it was of the utmost importance for the advancement of the gospel and for the increase of your majesty's possessions that a town should be established inland at a place called Tama. From there exploration could be carried on until New Mexico should be reached, or at least until the Spaniards, making expeditions from there, should be encountered. This is set out at greater length in the paragraph to which I refer. I gave this advice at the time without knowledge or experience of other harbours and territories, however, as I shall inform your majesty in this letter. Nor can I send to your majesty the plan or description of the aforementioned Tama on account of there being no friendly chieftain who has been there, nor any sensible Spaniard except a soldier of this garrison named Gaspar de Salas. When I arrived here on your majesty's service I sent the said soldier in the company of two monks who reached Tama, and what I learned from him, I advised you in the previous letter.[2] Although I now have endeavoured to make the said Gaspar de Salas give me the description and plan of Tama, he could do no more than make a deposition, which I had him make formally in my presence and which your majesty will find enclosed in this letter. Likewise, in the said testimony there are depositions of certain persons long resident in these provinces who have made excursions inland in the company of Captain Juan Pardo and Ensign Moyano,[3] with whom there came back two native Indian girls from the farthest point inland at which the captain and ensign

[1] The letter, dated 24 February 1598, is printed in M[anuel] S[errano] y S[anz], *Documentos históricos de la Florida* (1912), pp. 137–41. It deals with the prospects of exploration in the interior of Guale (Georgia), but suggests (p. 139) that the bay of Jacan offers one means of entry into the interior, having good harbours for large ships and being known to have gold and pearls. Nothing was said about an English settlement there. The governor's plans arose from an attempt to recover from the disastrous Indian rising of 1597 (cp. Lanning, *Spanish missions of Georgia*, pp. 111–35). [2] Apparently this expedition took place in 1597.

[3] In 1565–7, cp. H. E. Ketcham, 'Three sixteenth century Spanish chronicles relating to Georgia', in *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, XXXVIII (1954), 66–82.

arrived. One of these girls is married to Juan de Ribas, a soldier of this garrison, one of those making a deposition, and the other Teresa Martin, widow of another soldier of San Agustín, likewise, a declaration of Ensign Francisco Fernandez de Ec[ija], one of the oldest soldiers in the garrison at present, and also the declaration of David Glauid[1] an Irishman who was in Jacan in the town which Richarte de Campoverde, the Englishman, first founded; all of which may your majesty be pleased to see and consider because they seem to me to be of great importance.

In view of the said deposition, and the information which I tried to compile most carefully, I am obliged to change my opinion concerning the advice contained in the aforementioned letter. I now say that the discovery and settlement which ought to be made is in virtue of a plan which accompanies this letter and which your majesty ought to look at. This plan was made by the Irishman, David Glavid and contains in it the first discovery which the English made, as well as the other discoveries of rivers and inland territory. This can be seen from the lettering in each part of the sketch, and although it is not perfect, the defects are due to the fact that there is not anyone in this garrison who knows how to draw.[2] David made it as he saw and remembered it. In it the places can clearly be seen where the English established their fort and settlement, and also where he believes they are at present, that is, northwards from this garrison at a latitude of 37 degrees, while they entered for the first time at 35½ degrees according to the plan.[3] Your majesty may be able to gain information about this settlement from England. In case that is not possible, it would be well to

[1] David Glavin, the Darby Glande of the 1585 list of colonists (p. 185 above), who deserted White on the outward voyage in 1587 (p. 519 above).

[2] This sketch is not now, unfortunately, attached to the letter. It is not improbable, however, that it has been detached and that it may be found, unidentified, in the map collections at Seville.

[3] Glande knew the approximate location of Roanoke Island in relation to Chesapeake Bay and, as a member of White's expedition, knew that it was to the latter that the colonists he accompanied were intending to go (cp. p. 523 above).

order a thorough investigation to be made here. I myself shall do all in my power to inquire about this settlement if I am not prevented by the duties of your service or illness and, indeed, to this end, I have already begun to make investigations through the chief of the Escamacu of Santa Elena,[1] whom I summoned to come here and who has arrived today. Of what he knows, I shall fully inform your majesty immediately. In case the English have such a settlement, my opinion is that your majesty should order them to be driven out and made to leave the land which they have usurped and settled, in spite of the fact that it is yours, and great inconvenience, expense and bloodshed may result therefrom if a remedy is not sought in time. Another consideration is this: the year that Francis Drake destroyed this fortress, he dismantled the settlement and carried off the settlers to England, for which he fell out of favour with the queen.[2] She immediately went to great trouble to send out new settlers and much valuable aid,[3] as is clear from David's deposition.[4] David asserts that the land is very extensive, that there is much gold and many pearls in addition to fertile land and its fruits. There are also good harbours for ships and farther up still better ones, while the fort is at the latitude which those coming down from New Mexico to this coast must pass. If the settlement is really there, it seems fitting to me that your majesty should deal with the problem by supplying us with 1000 men, not counting

[1] The Uscamacu formed part of the Cusabo tribe (cp. p. 762 above).

[2] We know nothing of this from other sources, although Glande may well have heard criticism of Drake for his action in bringing home the colonists from people in contact with Raleigh and Grenville.

[3] Méndez de Canzo has clearly derived an impression from Glande that the English colony was maintained by royal forces. There are plainly three points involved: (1) the land is rich and worth occupying on its own account; (2) it belongs to Spain and the English are usurpers who cannot be tolerated; and (3) the English have taken a great deal of trouble to renew their colony there and, therefore, must regard it as valuable. Throughout, he is of the opinion that the English settlement has been continuously maintained. Diaz had already, in 1589, given his opinion that it was expiring (p. 795), while Juan Menéndez Marqués, who was treasurer at San Agustín (cp. p. 812 above), knew this, although he may have been away from Florida when the letter was written.

[4] His deposition, pp. 834–8 below.

the sailors who man the ships carrying supplies and arms necessary for such an undertaking. Among these arms there should be 300 *escupiles* because it is clear that where one has many native Indians as allies the *escupil*[1] is necessary for them also. They should enter with ammunition and rations for a year from the day they land in order that they should not go short of these things. That this be done with due circumspection, and that it be not known in England, the infantry should come as the usual quota sent each year to the Indies for your treasure.[2] In regard to the bread, flour, beans and other vegetables, they can be provided by New Spain, since the ships will be very full and such supplies would spoil coming from Spain. From there we should get only wines, oil, vinegar, and powder, lead, ammunition, arquebuses, some muskets and the *escupiles*. Since I suspect that at present, your majesty is short of heavy artillery, the two or three pieces which will have to be carried this fortress could supply. The men must be the best and most capable technicians that can be found. In addition to the larger seagoing vessels, which should be up to 100, or at most 150 tons burden, capable of entering shallow water, there should be a dozen shallow-draft pinnaces made specially to land troops and to enter the channels and rivers. These can very well be made here. We should have, moreover, two priests, a dozen sawyers with saws to make any necessary repairs to the ships or other equipment; likewise carpenters and a complete assortment of nails, a blacksmith and armourer.[3] In case these English are not settled where it is supposed that they are and this project is abandoned, your majesty will order what seems fitting to you to be done.

I repeat that the true correct exploration and penetration inland in order to learn its secrets fully, and to discover those of New

[1] Also called *zecopitz*, p. 764 above. As *escuipiles* they had been used since the early stages of the Spanish conquest (cp. R. S. Chamberlain, *The Conquest and colonization of Yucatan, 1517–50* (Carnegie Instn. Pubn. 582, Washington, D.C., 1948), p. 43).

[2] I.e. in the galleons which accompanied the treasure fleets.

[3] Compare English proposals for specialists to be taken to Virginia in 1585, pp. 50, 134–6 above.

Mexico, must be by the same way that Captain Juan Pardo and Ensign Moyano entered. We should make special investigations in regard to the mine and to the stones which they say are diamonds,[1] since the said Ensign Moyano resolved to return from Spain solely because of the said stones and pearls. This affair seems to me to be worthy of consideration and today the business would have been much further advanced if the Ensign and your governor, Pedro Menéndez, had not died.[2] Furthermore we should make inquiries concerning the many mines of silver and gold which they say there are, pushing forward and exploring everything until we come upon the people from New Mexico. For this discovery I believe that 300 infantrymen will be necessary, all of them arquebusiers and well protected with the *escupil* as for war with the Indians no other armour except this is of any value. As for the coat of mail, the arrow could go through it and the splinters of it would be very dangerous; the buffalo-leather coat is pierced very easily; and the corselet is very heavy armour and, moreover, if the arrow hits it it will rebound and injure the next person; so that it is clear that the *escupil* is the best armour because the arrow is stopped by it and sticks. These should be made particularly carefully and of cotton—they are not made of wool. I understand that the best *escupiles* are made in Spain by the friars of Our Lady of *los Remedios* of Triana. Furthermore, it will be necessary to bring an alchemist, a silversmith and a lapidary.[3]

In regard to supplies for these 300 soldiers, I am informed that once they are in the interior, there is food in great abundance, so that, providing the ammunition does not fail, there will be enough to eat, as can be seen from the information accompanying this letter. Likewise, there will be necessary for the expedition 400 axes and 400 spades, 100 sets of Flemish butchers' knives, 1500 *reales* worth of heavy blue glass beads, 200 ordinary mirrors, 100 pairs of scissors—all to be given to the chieftains and Indians in the

[1] Cp. p. 763 above.
[2] Or, rather, been recalled in 1589, pp. 814–15 above.
[3] Cp. p. 136, for an English parallel.

country through which we shall pass. And they will also be useful as barter for food, which trade they make gladly. We shall also need 18 bolts of canvas to make light suits for the soldiers to be worn under the *escupiles*, for tents, for the repair of the supplies; 1500 pairs of leather shoes—sizes 11, 12 and 13, 1000 shirts of medium fine linen, 300 coloured felt hats. In addition to the swords which each soldier shall carry, we shall need 150 dress and short swords,[1] because on such occasions many are usually broken; 300 saddlebags to serve as knapsacks; a good surgeon, a couple of barbers, about 10 horses, which can be brought from Havana, to carry supplies and for the use of the officers and of the sick, of which there are usually some, so that they may have a little alleviation of their condition.

If this expedition can be made with the desired success and if New Mexico can be reached, your majesty will be pleased to give the necessary orders; and since the commander from there must agree with the one from here in choosing a harbour, fort site, etc., it would be well, your majesty being willing, to leave this matter to the discretion of the leader of the expedition from these provinces.[2] And, as I have high hopes for the success of this business, I would, though a mere soldier, be pleased, if I were a wealthy man, to spend that wealth in your majesty's service in bringing to light and exploring that territory, increasing your majesty's realms and becoming an instrument for the saving of so many souls for heaven, as I trust will take place if your majesty should be pleased to put this plan into effect. The zeal I have for your service obliges me to make my report in great detail and to hope that the enterprise will be successful.

As for my private affairs, I cannot refrain from recalling to your majesty that for more than thirty years I have been continuously

[1] 'ropera y de cuerpo': the meaning appears doubtful.

[2] He has now covered the whole field of possible expeditions, Tama, the country explored by Pardo and Moyano, the destruction of the English settlement, and the linking up with forces coming from New Mexico prior to the establishment of a settlement on Chesapeake Bay—an ambitious scheme.

in your service, twenty of them in positions of trust as a captain of infantry, commander of your fleet of frigates at Puerto Rico, and, more recently, here, where I am now serving with the care and conscientiousness which are well-known to your majesty and with such cost to myself that, despite the favour your majesty has shown me regarding my salary, I am still unable to meet expenses and support myself. In other letters I have requested your majesty to be pleased to order me to be paid a reasonable allowance, and your majesty's letter of 9 November 1598, now to hand, asks me to remind you, as I am now doing, to order the payment to me of my full arrears of salary from the pay-chest here, according to the favour of your majesty's warrant, for the two years ending on 23 September 1598.[1]

May our Lord keep your majesty, of whom all Christendom hath need. San Agustín, Florida, 28 February 1600.

Gonzalo Mendez de Canço

158. 30 JANUARY / 8 FEBRUARY 1600.

DEPOSITIONS SENT BY GONZÁLO MÉNDEZ DE CANZO TO PHILIP III[2]

[1] Formal statement that on 8 February 1600 the governor Gonçalo Méndez de Canço at San Agustín deposited a paragraph of a letter from the king, dated 9 November 1598, which he had received about February 18 last, and which was verified and transcribed.[3] The governor stated that, in consequence, there were to be taken sworn depositions from (*a*) persons who were at Tama,

[1] The last passages contribute nothing to the story of Spanish enterprise directly, but, indirectly, they reveal that Méndez de Canzo, not being a man of wealth who could start the wheels moving, had little opportunity, or hope, of being entrusted with such an enterprise as he had sketched.

[2] Summary, and extract, translated. Printed by M[anuel] S[errano] y S[anz], *Documentos históricos de la Florida*, pp. 141–59, from Seville, A.G.I. 54. 5. 9, largely translated by Katherine Reding, 'Letter of Gonzalo Méndez de Canzo to Philip II [*sic*]', in *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, VIII, 221–8.

[3] The summary above, p. 826, is an adequate one.

(*b*) those who were with Juan Pardo and the ensign Moyano, (*c*) 'likewise from David Glaud, an Irishman, who was in Jacan with Richarte de Canpoverde, who made a settlement there', (*d*) from the Indian women who came from the place where Pardo had been and others who had information about it.[1] Attested by Juan Ximenez, scribe.

[2] Deposition of Gaspar de Salas, soldier, who had been at Tama in 1597.

[3] Deposition of Juan de Ribas, husband of one of the Indian women who came from the place Juan Pardo had been.

[4] Deposition of Theresa Martin, 'a natural Indian of the country previously called Juacan', widow of a former soldier of the garrison, who came from the place where Juan Pardo had been.

[5] Deposition of the ensign Francisco de Ecija, a veteran soldier of the garrison, on what he remembered of the Pardo-Moyano expeditions.

[6] Deposition of David Glavin, Irish soldier.[2]

'On the aforementioned day, month and year, the governor and captain-general, Gonçalo Méndez de Canço ordered Dauid Glauin,[3] an Irishman and a soldier of this garrison, to appear before him, who took the oath in due form, making the sign of the cross with his right hand. Having heard the governor's instructions and the paragraph from his majesty's letter, he said that he had never been in Tama, or knew the land. What he knows of these provinces is through living in them, and in this garrison of San Agustín, for more than five years.[4] In 1584 the English stole a ship, laden with wine and merchandise, from him coming from Nantes in the province of Brittany as she was rounding the cape of Surlinga, and

[1] Again compare pp. 827–8.

[2] This deposition is given in full, in translation.

[3] Darby Glande or Glaven are probably nearer the correct form of his name, but David was an obvious adaptation of his Christian name (cp. pp. 195, 519 above).

[4] I.e. he had arrived from Havana about 1595.

brought him with them to the Indies.[1] Richarte de Canpouerde was general in command of nine[2] sail, large and small, and brought him with them to Jacan, which is on the coast in a latitude of 36 degrees.[3] There Canpouerde put into port and set on shore up to 150 settlers,[4] amongst whom your witness remained as they did not give him a passage back. There, as soon as they had disembarked, they began to make brick and tiles[5] for a fort and houses. He remained with them a year and a half[6] until Francis Drake, who sacked some harbours in the Indies, amongst them this one, San Agustín, arrived with his fleet. Drake then carried away the English from Jacan in his ships—this witness amongst them—and took them to England. In London the witness understood that he fell out of favour with the queen for having brought the settlers from Jacan. And later he saw two ships being fitted out with 200 men, many settlers and their wives to return again to settle Jacan. They again seized this witness and brought him with them towards Jacan.[7] Thus he came with them to the island of Puerto Rico, where, in a harbour on the southern side, they took in water and provisions. The witness was told to make his escape which he did.[8] He warned Puerto Rico that they were making ready five

[1] It is not unlikely that he was a member of the crew of the *Waterhound* of Brill which was taken by the *Roebuck*, coming from Nantes with wine early in 1585, and some of her men brought to Virginia by Grenville (cp. pp. 151–2 above). It is very improbable that he owned the ship.

[2] Seven (p. 178 above).

[3] Port Ferdinando is in lat. 35° 50′ N., so Glande's is a good estimate or guess.

[4] Cp. pp. 181–3 above.

[5] 'ladrillo y texa'. This would suggest that at least some of the buildings of Roanoke Island had brick bases, lath and plaster walls, and tiled roofs, but it cannot be said to prove it. There is other evidence that the houses were thatched. There are also some inconclusive indications that bricks may have been made on the spot (cp. p. 908).

[6] Eleven months, cp. pp. 189–92, 255 above.

[7] It is very unlikely that Glande was so unlucky as to have been impressed twice. It will be noted, however, that he and Lacie, apart from White and probably Wright, were the only settlers who had been out in 1585 (p. 541 above).

[8] White says that at Mosquito Bay (Tallaboa Bay) on 1 July 1587 he 'left behind' Glande and Dennis Carroll, the implication being that they had deserted. Nothing has been heard of Carroll. Glande, it will be remembered, was sent to the galleys for a time, possibly for as much as seven years (cp. pp. 519–20, 813).

ships in England to come to capture and sack Puerto Rico,[1] and that they might be there by Whit Sunday.[2] He warned the said Diego Menéndez, who then was governor of Puerto Rico.[3] Because he had had warning the galleons did no harm, although they came at the time anticipated. They came also with the intention, after making their attack, of carrying more settlers to Jacan, and following the ships with which this witness came.[4] Thus he considers it certain that the English are in Jacan. For additional proof he said that last year, 1599, being in Havana, Don Beltran de la Cueva was bringing certain Englishmen from Lima belonging to an English ship which he had taken from the son of Juan Acaes.[5] Among them was a young man who declared that, at the same time as they left Plemua for the Straits of Magellan, two ships had sailed in their company carrying supplies of people, ammunition,

[1] This was evidently the expedition sent out by Sir George Carey under William Irish, cp. pp. 498–9, 502–3 above.

[2] 'Pascua de Espírito Santo', meaning doubtful. Whit Sunday was, by New Style reckoning, 21 May, and Glande, it must be remembered, was giving the warning in July!

[3] On 29 May/8 June Diego Menéndez de Valdés had word of Carey's ships, which passed near San Juan, and which he reported in a letter dated three days later, while later in the month, 10/20 June, the city was thrown into alarm by the reappearance of the vessels though they did not apparently attack (Wright, *Further English voyages*, pp. 231–2, lxx). This was at least three weeks before it would have been physically possible for Glavin to provide any information.

[4] Whatever Glande's defects as an accurate reporter, this statement asserts what is left as conjecture by the other evidence, that the call of Carey's ships at Virginia was concerted with White before the third colony left England. The call was made and no colony found, but we know little more. (Cp. pp. 781–4 above.) Glande alone tells us they carried additional colonists and supplies. They may have done so, but in that case they are most likely to have brought them home again.

[5] John Hawkins. Richard Hawkins in the *Dainty* had been taken by Beltran de Castro y de la Cueva at the Bay of Acatames, Peru, in June 1594 (J. A. Williamson, *Age of Drake*, p. 350; *The observations of Sir Richard Hawkins*, ed. J. A. Williamson, pp. lxx–ix). It seems probable that Glande is mistaken about the date. Richard Hawkins, with fourteen others, was brought to Lima and then, in 1597, to Spain (ibid. pp. lxxx–ii), and this is the most probable year for the incident to have taken place. It is possible, however, that he preserves information of some members of Hawkins's crew being shipped from Havana at the later date.

clothes, implements, axes and spades for the settlers of Jacan,[1] which confirmed his opinion that they are still there.

When he was asked his views on Jacan at the time he was there, whether there was gold and silver to be found, and what it produced, he said that when he was there they sowed wheat and barley which grew in great abundance.[2] The land produced many and good things. Thus there were grapes, plums, apples, cherries and chestnuts in great quantity, and also nuts, corn, beans and gourds,[3] as well as very many kinds of fish so that each month had its special kind.[4] There was also much gold and pearls for he saw Richarte de Canpouerde bargain for more than an *arroba* of gold.[5] His opinion was that the gold was not very fine, as he heard it said that it must be between sixteen and eighteen carats. This was because it was crude since the Indians did not know the way to refine it. He noticed that all the chiefs wore rings of gold.[6] They had also amongst them a great quantity of pearls, some of them very large, many of which Richarte de Canpouerde carried away. This witness bartered for one the shape of an acorn and even larger, very transparent and beautiful, but when Richarte de Canpouerde heard of it he took it away from him.[7] Moreover, the English had word that some forty leagues from there, upstream, at the head of a mountain from which the river sprang, there were gold mines, but

[1] Richard Hawkins had sailed from Plymouth on 12/22 June 1593 (Williamson, *Age of Drake*, p. 346). If this statement is correct it certainly is important, as nothing is known of any further searches for the lost colonists after 1590 until 1602. It is unlikely to be so, however, and it is more probable that it enshrines some record of Jacob Whiddon's voyage to Trinidad to spy out the land for Raleigh's Guiana voyage (Raleigh, *The discoverie of Guiana*, ed. V. T. Harlow, pp. 5, 15, 34).

[2] Incorrect, cp. p. 344 above.

[3] This is a reasonable short list of the more important fruits and food-stuffs, cp. pp. 337–55 above.

[4] Cp. Hariot, pp. 359–62 above.

[5] About 25 lb. Grenville most probably bought some copper from the Indians in order to have it assayed for its supposed gold content, but it is most unlikely that he could have acquired such a large quantity (cp. pp. 332–3).

[6] For their copper ornaments, cp. pp. 103–4, 425, 438–40 above. Glande is unlikely, at the time, to have believed the Indians had gold. Certainly nothing in the contemporary narratives suggests it.

[7] For the pearls acquired in 1585–6 see pp. 333–4 above.

because they fell short of food they did not reach the mines, having to return when they had gone half-way.[1] As he has already said, the English are in Jacan. It does not seem likely that they would abandon so fertile a land where there was so much gold and so many pearls.

This witness has given this account to the said general in order that it may be sent to his majesty. This is what he knows and has seen, according to the oath he has taken, and, having heard it read over, he signed it with his name. He said he was about forty years of age.[2]

[7] Deposition of Luisa Menéndez, an Indian woman on what she knew of the place where Juan Pardo had been.

[8] Formal verification and signatures.

Dauid Glauid signed this in my presence

Juan Ximenes, scribe'

159. $\frac{18}{28}$ JUNE 1600.

GONZALO MÉNDEZ DE CANZO TO PHILIP III[3]

If your majesty expects to learn about the Jacan settlement by way of England it will be necessary to inquire about Virginia, which is the name the English have for this place. Of Jacan they will know nothing.[4]...San Agustín, Florida. 28 June 1600.

[1] This is a recollection of Lane's expedition up the Roanoke River, cp. pp. 264–72 above.

[2] At the time of the Virginia expedition of 1585 he would, if his statement is correct, have been about twenty-five years old.

[3] Extract, translated. Seville, A.G.I. 54. 5. 9; transcripts in Library of Congress, Lowery Transcripts, IV, Brooks Transcripts, II; translated in Brooks and Averette, *Old St Augustine* (1909), pp. 58–64.

[4] This presumably he had learnt from either Glande or Juan Menéndez Marqués. It is the last scrap of the further information which he promised to send to the king (p. 829 above). His plans for expansion were pigeon-holed, and in 1602 an inquiry was in progress as to whether it was worth while retaining the Florida colony in any form. In a letter of 12/22 September 1602 (Seville, A.G.I. 54. 5. 9; Library of Congress, Lowery Transcripts, IV) he not only accepted this possibility with equanimity, but went on to explain why, in his opinion, the English would not step in when the Spaniards left (Quinn, 'Some Spanish reactions', in *Trans. R. Hist. S.*, 5th ser., I, 22–3).

APPENDICES

I. The Map of Raleigh's Virginia.
(The map will be found at the end of the volume.)

II. The Language of the Carolina Algonkian tribes. An Introduction and a Word-list by the Rev. James A. Geary, Professor of Celtic Languages and Comparative Philology in the Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C.

III. The Archaeology of the Roanoke Settlements.

IV. Sources.

APPENDIX I

THE MAP OF RALEIGH'S VIRGINIA

(THE MAP WILL BE FOUND AT THE END OF THE VOLUME)

A. The physical setting.

B. The maps.

C. Commentary on the map of Raleigh's Virginia.

A. THE PHYSICAL SETTING

> Much of the beautiful scenery of that age has passed away. To the east lies a long and well-nigh barren strip of sand that marks the bounds of the ocean....All these banks, within the memory of their old men, were covered, with scarcely a break, with a dense forest. These have all been swallowed up by small mountains of moving sand. Roanoke Island was heavily timbered.
>
> Another change that has taken place within the memory of the fathers of this generation is that the island is further from the mainland. The marsh from Croatan and that from the south end of Roanoke Island nearly met, only a narrow creek separating them. This was when the waters of the Albemarle sought the ocean by Nag's Head Inlet. A storm closed this. These waters then sought to pass by way of an inlet south of Roanoke Island. Their force removed the peaty marsh and opened the wide waterway as it now is.
>
> CHARLES R. TAYLOR (in 1902)[1]

Raleigh's 'Virginia' lies behind the outer coastline of North America between Cape Fear in latitude 33° 50′ N. and Cape Henry in 36° 56′, N. It is some 300 miles in length, and extends westward, at its greatest depth, not much more than 100 miles. The greater part of it is within the state of North Carolina, but part of the territory explored between 1584 and 1590 is within the state of Virginia and since from 1586 the English objective was to settle a colony on Chesapeake Bay the voyages may be regarded as a prelude to the Jamestown settlement of 1607.

From Cape Fear northwards to within ten miles of Cape Henry the mainland is screened by a long barrier beach, the Carolina Outer Banks, which is broken into a number of islands separated by tidal inlets. Between 35° and 36° 10′ N. the Banks swing out to sea and enclose

[1] *Literary and historical activities in North Carolina, 1900–5* (Publications of the North Carolina Historical Commission, 1), p. 290.

extensive but shallow sounds—Pamlico Sound is some 65 miles long and some 30 miles wide—from which a series of broad river estuaries—Neuse, Pamlico, Roanoke and Chowan (the last two joined in Albemarle Sound), penetrate into the interior and provide access for the boats of exploring parties.

The Banks are, for the most part, low, sandy and narrow islands, usually from a few hundred yards to a mile wide, but at a few places—the northern end of Portsmouth Island, the southern end of Ocracoke Island, from Hatteras to Buxton on Hatteras Island, and from Nags Head to Duck on Bodie Island—broadening out to between 2 and 3 miles. Generally, the Banks are low, sometimes only a few feet above high-water level, but usually behind the beach rising into low dunes of 10–20 feet high and with, occasionally, great barchans ('whale-heads' as they are called locally), crescentic dunes which at Kill Devil Hills on Bodie Island reach as much as 75–100 feet in height.

The inner shore of the islands is covered with swamp grasses and associated vegetation; on the seaward side there is little but sand. Where there are dunes, swamp vegetation takes hold between them, but on the broader parts of the Banks there are bushes and remnants of forest cover over old and stable dunes, notably on Hatteras Island between Hatteras and Buxton, as well as a remnant on the inner side of Bodie Island between Nags Head and Duck. Pine, red maple, oak, cedar, sassafras, elm, locust, persimmon and hickory, with gums and cypresses in the damper parts, are characteristic trees of the latter, and most of them appear on Hatteras Island and on Ocracoke (here in a much smaller range of species, but with the addition of the prickly pear, described by Hariot).

The Carolina Banks are the creation of conflicting natural forces. They are maintained and strengthened on the landward side by the mud and silt which pours out from the rivers and sounds. They are pushed westward and southward by wind, tides and currents on their ocean shore. From the inside, water is steadily pressing to find channels through the Banks into the open sea, but the water flowing out through the channels leaves its deposit to help to silt them up. From the outside, gales sweep the sea over the lower and narrower parts of the islands, filling up old inlets and tearing open new ones. The sand on the beaches from Cape Henry to Cape Hatteras is moving southwards and this helps to close the inlets from the seaward side, or at least to assist them in moving south.

On the Banks there is a constant struggle between moving dunes

and sealing vegetation. Over several centuries the dunes have been gaining territory and have, temporarily at least, won the battle over the forest in substantial areas of Bodie and Hatteras Islands. This has been partly, but not wholly, due to deforestation. In the sixteenth century the Banks were substantially different from what they are today. They were probably wider, in certain places at least. The forest-cover was much more widespread, particularly over much of the area between Cape Hatteras and Kitty Hawk. The inlets were in different places so that the islands making up the Banks were not the same. There was at least one major headland, 'Cape Kenrick', where now are only the Wimble Shoals. The headlands, 'Cape Kenrick', Cape Hatteras and Cape Lookout, were moulded by drifting sand and by currents and eddies set up on the passing of the Gulf Stream so that they carry a long trail of shoal water out to sea. The shoals help to make the Banks specially dangerous for shipping. The edge of the Gulf Stream, flowing north-east, is a few miles offshore between Cape Lookout and Cape Hatteras, and is then deflected sharply eastwards. The inshore counter-currents running north to south help to drive shipping on the shoals and, incidentally, turn the cusps of the capes southwards.[1] Sudden thunderstorms—sometimes hurricanes—can raise dangerous seas between June and September. Strong northerly winds in winter, especially north-easterly gales, have frequently a devastating effect on land and have driven many ships on shore or on to shoals. No visitor, seeing the wrecks of three or four centuries which litter the beaches from Ocracoke to Kitty Hawk, can have any doubt that the Carolina Outer Banks are a graveyard of the sea.[2]

The basis for the scientific study of the movement of the inlets in the Carolina Banks has been laid by the investigations of the United States Army Corps of Engineers on the coast between Cape Hatteras and Kitty Hawk from 1932 to 1935, and by the subsequent work of Professor Feltner.[3] These have shown that the southern littoral drift on the outside of the barrier beach is shearing off the outer shore of

[1] The question may be asked whether the disappearance of Cape Kenrick means that the eastward deflection of the Gulf Stream takes place rather further to the south than in the sixteenth century. If so, the climate of the Banks near Roanoke Island would have been somewhat warmer.

[2] See David Stick, *Graveyard of the Atlantic* (1952).

[3] Cp. *Beach erosion at Kitty Hawk, Nags Head, and Oregon Inlet* (74th Congress, 1st Session, House Document no. 155 of 1935), with the older material in Douglas W. Johnson, *Shore processes and shorelines development* (New York, 1919), and

the Banks and pushing the material southward. This has been in progress, especially between Cape Hatteras and Kitty Hawk, for a long time, probably going back to the sixteenth century at least. It has been measured for the period since 1849, for which accurate maps and charts are available. The movement westward has been greatest between Cape Hatteras and Kitty Hawk, less between Cape Lookout and Cape Hatteras, and doubtful in its total effect between Cape Fear and Cape Lookout. The latest measurements between Rodanthe (north of Cape Hatteras) and Kitty Hawk show a recession of as much as 19 feet a year between 1931 and 1939. If this is regarded as about the average rate for this section of the shore, the shoreline in 1584 would have been about 1.28 miles to the east. This fits in well enough with the measured recession back to 1849, so that if it has been going on continuously since the sixteenth century a round figure of one mile for the average westward erosion would be a reasonable guess. Gales, of course, can and do upset such averages, but over a long period their effect is evened out. Estimates for the westward movement south of Cape Hatteras are less easy to make, but they do not greatly affect the picture. On the map at the end of this volume the 1584 coastline has been printed at a conventional distance eastwards from the present shore for the whole distance from Cape Henry to Cape Fear.

The southward movement of the sand on the barrier beach can be checked only at a few points, but Cape Hatteras is one of them. There the movement southwards since 1584, taking the 1849–1932 measurements as a base, would be about 4000 feet, the movement westwards in the same time being apparently a little more (see the inset in the map). It was doubtless the combined result of long-continued erosion and the sudden effects of some seventeenth-century storm which washed away 'Cape Kenrick' altogether and left in its place only the sandbanks now known as Wimble Shoals.

As the shoreline has been changing, by either slow or catastrophic erosion, the inlets through the Banks to the sounds have also altered continuously. Pressure of water from the sounds is the main reason why there are inlets, but it is northerly gales from the sea which make them at particular times and places. Once an inlet has been cut through

W. B. Clark [etc], *The coastal plain of North Carolina* (North Carolina Geological and Economic Survey, III. Raleigh, N.C., 1912), and the more recent paper by C. E. Feltner, 'Beach erosion in North Carolina', in *North Carolina State College Record*, XLVII (Raleigh, 1948), no. 4.

the Banks it becomes sharply affected by the southward littoral drift. The precise reasons for what happens are not clear, but the observed results are well attested. The southern bank of the inlet is soon sharply eroded and the northern side rapidly fills with sand and silt. Thus the inlet moves southwards. Oregon Inlet shifted nearly 2 miles between 1849 and 1932, New Inlet 1½ miles between 1852 and 1917. At this rate, any of the present inlets could have moved up to 5 miles southwards since 1584. This, however, they have not done, because they build up more rapidly on the northern side than they are eroded on the south. Narrowing, they are liable to have a sand-bar thrown across their mouths by a gale, and then they close. New inlets are made by water and wind pressures in due course. The only element of consistency is that new inlets tend to be cut through those low and narrow parts of the Banks along which older inlets have moved, but this does not seem to have been invariable.

The relevance of what has been said about the inlets through the Banks to the sixteenth-century explorations is that present-day inlets provide little accurate guide to those found between 1584 and 1590. In considering the data assembled in the accompanying map, therefore, very little attempt has been made to work back over the history of the more recent inlets to those of the sixteenth century. The sixteenth-century picture is given in White's maps, and, wherever it can be tested from the narratives, given accurately. The seventeenth-century maps of this part of the North American coast were not based on surveys on the ground as White's were, and when we come to the more reliable maps of the eighteenth century (and still more to the precise maps of the mid-nineteenth century) the physical picture, as regards the position of the inlets, and also the shorelines of the Banks in general, has changed substantially. The historical discussion so far accorded to the maps between 1590 and 1849, has, it is true, been quite inadequate, and some light on sixteenth-century conditions may yet emerge from a more careful study of them, while a critical analysis of the shorelines and nomenclature of the sixteenth-century Spanish maps will probably prove still more fruitful.[1] What has been done in the accompanying map is to sketch out the sixteenth-century shorelines of the Banks in relation to their present-day alignment. By clearing away some misconceptions it may provide a basis for more precise conclusions.

[1] Professor W. P. Cumming's forthcoming general study of the cartography of the south-eastern United States will be of great assistance in this respect.

B. MAPS

No attempt is made here to provide a general study of the maps available to the explorers and settlers of Raleigh's Virginia, though incidental reference is made to them elsewhere, but a few brief notes on the maps made by the voyagers themselves, or deriving from them, will show the basis on which they have been utilized for the general map of Raleigh's Virginia, on which have also been included all names mentioned in the English narratives. In the main these maps are the work of or derive from John White, to whom, with Thomas Hariot, the considerable cartographical achievement of the voyages must be credited.

1. 1585 SKETCH-MAP

The first of the basic maps is a rough sketch (fig. 3 above), the maker of which cannot be determined. When the State Papers, Colonial, were being assembled this sketch was associated, apparently quite arbitrarily, with a letter from John Smith to Francis Bacon, Lord Verulam, of 1618,[1] and it was reproduced as a map of that date by Alexander Brown.[2] As the handwriting, the language, and the character of the information which it contained all seemed inappropriate, an attempt was made to see how far it fitted an earlier date. Now Smith's map of 'Ould Virginia', published in 1624,[3] is a crude copy of De Bry's engraving of 1590 (no. 4 below), with a purely fanciful English nomenclature superimposed. It adds nothing to De Bry except for the southern shore of Chesapeake Bay and the immediately adjoining territory where the data is taken from the map of the Jamestown colony. The sketch-map would have provided Smith with certain additional information for the map of 'Ould Virginia' had he ever had it in his possession. Linked, however, to White's maps and De Bry's engravings, the sketch-map proved to fit in admirably with the circumstances of the 1585 expedition as the discussion of the notes it contains[4] shows. It may also have suggested, though the area covered is wider, White's drawing (now lost) of the entry of the English into Virginia of which we have De Bry's engraving.[5] There is no doubt that the sketch-map belongs to 1585, and that it represents a rough

[1] P.R.O., C.O. 1/5, 42. The map reference is now Maps and Plans, G. 484.
[2] See *Genesis of the United States*, I, 596–7.
[3] *The generall historie of Virginia* (1624), p. 21.
[4] Pp. 215–17 above.
[5] Pp. 413–15 above, fig. 5.

note of the mapping done by White and Hariot in the first phases of discovery.[1] It was most probably sent to England early in September 1585, on the *Roebuck* or *Elizabeth*, possibly with the letter from Lane to Walsingham of 8 September 1585,[2] or with another letter of about that date. While there is no attempt at a scale, and while the various islands in the Banks are drawn with very little reference to their relative lengths, yet the information contained in it is capable of being checked step by step with the later maps and with the narratives. Its value is that it provides some limited check on the finished White maps, while it contributes several pieces of detail both to the narrative and to the nomenclature and topography of the general map.

2. WHITE 1

John White's detailed map of the area between Cape Fear and Chesapeake Bay (fig. 7 above: cited as White 1) must be accepted as the major contemporary authority on the configuration of the coastline in the later sixteenth century, on the nomenclature and spelling of placenames, and on the location of villages, etc. White's bearings have been checked extensively and have been found, for all those parts of the area which he can with any probability be shown to have visited, correct or sufficiently nearly correct for his outlines to be accepted within the limits of his scale. For the district around Roanoke Island too, as far south as Cape Hatteras, his distances are also accurate within a small margin of error. If White made up his map, however, from small surveyed sheets—as was recommended in 1582[3]—it is not surprising, in view of the difficulties of maintaining a constant scale with the instruments at his disposal, that distances (in parts where he did not have time to survey accurately) should have been incorrect and the relations of land and water distorted. It is also apparent that he could not have surveyed on the ground the whole of the area which he included in his map. From his patchwork of surveyed sheets, he would have had to fill in many gaps by conjecture and from verbal reports by other members of the expeditions or by the Indians. Thus, for example, the authority of his map for the areas south of Pamlico River and west of the village of Chesepiuc on Chesapeake Bay is not great, being founded on little more than Indian tales. The map is, nevertheless, the most careful detailed piece of cartography for any part of North

[1] The technique is not White's or the hand of the notes Hariot's.

[2] Pp. 210–14 above.

[3] See pp. 53–4 above.

America to be made in the sixteenth century, and the first to be based, at least by an Englishman, on a survey made on the ground. The assumption has generally been made that this map is the result only of work done during the stay of the first colony at Roanoke during 1585–6, but we have no precise means of dating the original, and it may contain data collected during his earlier visit in 1584 and even a certain amount derived from his later visits in 1587 and 1590.

3. WHITE 2

John White's general map which includes the whole of south-eastern North America (fig. 6: cited as White 2) illustrates the effects on White's work of piecing together maps and charts of varying scales and authority into a composite map. The Bahamas, probably after Dee's 1580 map and additional Spanish sources, appear greatly exaggerated in scale and distorted in lay-out. 'Florida', as far north as approximately 33°, is based on a French original, itself owing something to Spanish authorities, its features being much less accurate than those of the area mapped by White in person and its longitude shifted mercilessly westwards. The coastline between Cape Romain and Cape Fear is sketched in almost wholly on conjecture, and is given a quite incorrect west–east trend (for the almost south–north line of the actual shoreline), in order to link it with a smaller version of the area behind the shoreline from Cape Fear to Cape Henry so much more accurately mapped by White himself.

Latitudes are given on this map (not on the other), but show that his experimental observations for the area he had surveyed were incomplete and defective. The modern Capes Fear and Hatteras are within 20′ of the true latitudes, 'Port Ferdinando' within 45′[1]—all good approximations for the sixteenth century. North of 'Port Ferdinando', however, White's inaccuracy is striking and difficult to explain, his entrance to Chesapeake Bay, for example being placed at 40° (for 37°). Certainly these figures were not Hariot's. On this map there are fewer names for the part covered by the detailed map, but those given, apart from some variations in spelling, are identical with those on the detailed map (White 1), with the addition of 'Port Ferdinando'—the entry through the Carolina Outer Banks near the southern end of Roanoke Island.

[1] Cape Hatteras 35° 40′ for 35° 20′, 'Port Ferdinando' 36° 35′ for 35° 50′. In 1590 he gave 35° 30′ and 36° 20′, respectively (see p. 609 above).

4. DE BRY

De Bry's engraved map of 1590 after White (fig. 8) covers the same area as that of White 1, but is clearly from a modified drawing of it, which is not apparently extant. De Bry smoothed and conventionalized White's outlines in detail and altered the location of a number of Indian village sites. Where the maps conflict, preference should probably be given to the White originals, unless new data has been added.[1] But the De Bry map does contain some additional information, thus proving the nomenclature to have been at least partly revised by White. He adds sixteen new names—some of doubtful validity—but their precise placing must be accepted with considerable reserve. Spellings of names, too, gave De Bry some difficulty. It is sometimes hard to know when his 'uu' is medial 'w', or 'nn', 'un' or 'nu', and, in one case, his 'q̄' at the end of a name is a 'k' sound.[2] There is also in De Bry a variation in the coastline which is not easily explicable. Lane described in 1585 an inlet through the Banks to which the name of Trinity Harbour had been given, but the location of which he did not specify.[3] On the two White originals only one opening (at the terminus) is given through the Banks north of the pair which give access to Roanoke Island. In De Bry's map and in his engraving of 'The arriual of the Englishemen in Virginia' (fig. 5), for which no White drawing exists, there appear two openings through the Banks to Currituck Sound, the more southerly of which is named 'Trinety Harbor'. Are we to accept 'The arriual' as an engraving of a version of one of White's detailed survey sheets, and De Bry's variations in this respect from the original White maps as due to oversights and omissions by White when compiling the originals which we now have? The additional names which De Bry adds strongly suggest that he was working from a revised map, and it is not unlikely that White, in such a revision, inserted the additional inlets which he had previously omitted to note. It might even be suggested that the revision may have

[1] The main divergences between the location of Indian villages given on the accompanying map and that by Dr Maurice A. Mook in *Journal of the Washington Academy of Sciences*, XXXIV, 183, are due to the fact that he gives equal authority to De Bry's placings with those of the White originals (see pp. 100, 870).

[2] See 'Cwareuuoc' ('Cwarewoc'?), 'Neuusiooc' ('Newsiooc'? It is 'Newasiwac' in White 1 above), 'Panauuaioc' ('Panawaioc' or 'Panaunaioc'?), 'Ramushouuōq' ('Ramushowouk' or 'Ramushounonk' or 'Ramushonnouk'?).

[3] P. 201–2 above.

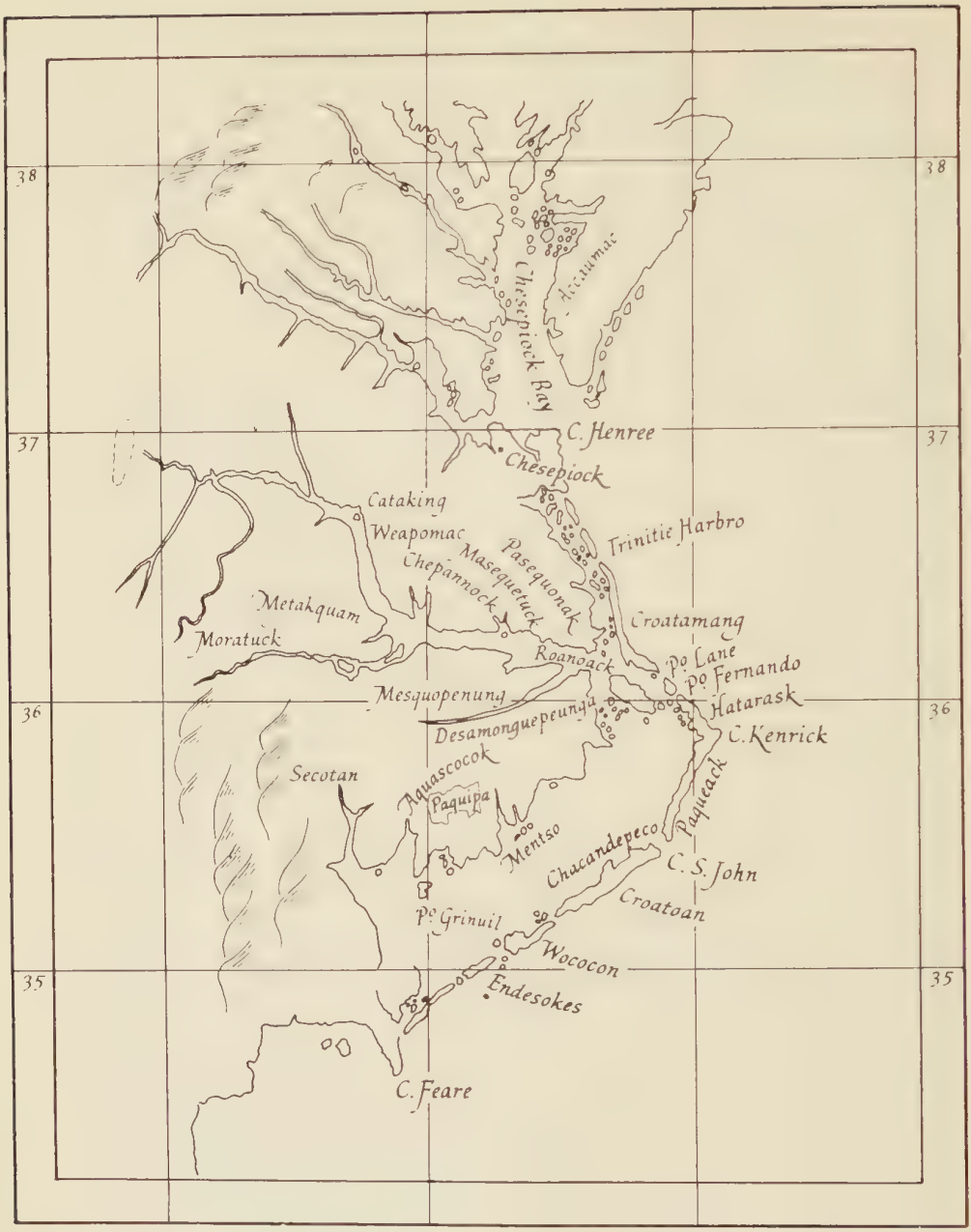
been the result of his further visit to the Banks in 1587. Though De Bry's additions must still be taken with a little reserve, the probability that they represent genuine alterations by White is a very strong one.

5. THE MOLYNEUX GLOBE, 1592[1]

Between 1589 and 1592, Emery Molyneux, with the assistance of Edward Wright and the patronage of William Sanderson, was collecting material for a great terrestrial globe which Jodocus Hondius engraved for him in 1592. For the coastline of North America covered by the Roanoke voyages he had available the narratives which Hakluyt published in 1589 in the *Principall navigations*, and the maps and texts of De Bry, published the following year. There is reason to think that he obtained information from Raleigh and that in 1590 he was in touch with Thomas Hariot. Dr Wallis's discovery of the Petworth globe enables us to ascertain that no revision was made of the coast of eastern North America between the first edition and the revised one of 1603. The 1592 globe is, then, the second published map of the findings of the Roanoke voyages, the De Bry-White being the first.[2] So far as the outline is concerned only a crude, small-scale version of the White coastline is given, but the nomenclature added by Molyneux is more interesting. 'B. Chesepiock' is De Bry's 'Chesepiooc sinus', 'Cwarcook' his 'Cwareuuoc', 'Newciook' his 'Neuustooc', 'Tandagocomeri' his 'Tandaquomuc' while 'Cape of Feare' and 'Trinitie harbor' are also from him—to take names not represented in White

[1] 'The first English globe: a recent discovery', in *Geographical Journal*, CXVII (1951), 275–90. For Hariot and Raleigh associations see especially pp. 278, 286. The other example of the terrestrial globe in its first state, that in the Hessisches Landesmuseum, was apparently destroyed in the bombing of Kassel without having been described in detail. The Petworth globe (which Dr Wallis found in 1949) derives from the 9th Earl of Northumberland who had the closest of links both with Hariot and Raleigh. The Middle Temple pair of celestial and terrestrial globes (dated respectively 1592 and 1603, and now deposited in the British Museum) is unique. Examples of the celestial globe (1592) are in the Hessiches Landesmuseum and in the Germanisches National-Museum, Nuremberg (H. M. Wallis, 'The Molyneux globes', in *Brit. Mus. Quarterly*, XVI (1951), 89–90). Robert Hues included most of the Virginia names on the globe in his gazetteer in his *Tractatus de globis et eorum usu* (*1594*). Hondius, in his 1603 revision of the terrestrial globe did not alter the Virginia material, but his Dutch version of Hues, 1597 (H. M. Wallis, 'A contemporary handbook to the Molyneux globes', in *Brit. Mus. Quarterly* XVIII (1953), 68–9), omitted the gazetteer.

[2] The Ortelius map of 1587 (p. 496) being ignored.



10. Extract from the Velasco map (1611) shewing Raleigh's Virginia.

1 and 2. On the other hand the forms used for certain other names would suggest that he used White 2, thus 'Chesapiuk' ('Chesepiuc'), 'Croatamung', 'Hatarask', 'Paquipe', and 'Wococon', the second of which is not in De Bry at all. But there is something added as well. The 'Port Ferdinando' of White 2 becomes 'P. Hatarask' (as White refers to it in the later narratives), while 'Endesockee' appears for the first time. 'Secotan' and 'Chiapanok' ('Chepanoc') are nearer to the narratives in Hakluyt than to the other maps.

We may conclude then that Molyneux made intelligent use of the nomenclature in published sources, though it is surprising that he leaves out Roanoke Island itself. The existence of a new name 'Endesockee' indicates, however, that he had additional assistance from someone who had been on the voyages. This is most likely to have been Hariot, who could have supplied the name, and may also be responsible for the forms of the other names given to Molyneux. The globe was specifically intended to call attention to the Roanoke ventures since it carries a legend:

> Virginia primum lustrata, habitata & culta ab Anglia.
> Impensis *Domini* Gualteri de Ralegh Equitis Aurati etc.
> Auctoritate ELIZABETHA Ser*enissima* Angliae Regina.

6. THE VELASCO MAP OF CIRCA 1611

The original is a general map of eastern North America, extending south to near Cape Fear, which Brown and Stokes believed[1] to be that enclosed in a letter from London by Alonzo de Velasco to Phillip III of 12/22 March 1611. It is now in the Archivo General de Simancas.

The southern portion (fig. 10) is of some interest in connexion with the Roanoke voyages. The coastal features are well-drawn and the names carefully spaced. Many of the latter go back to De Bry, but 'Croatamang', 'Port Fernando' and 'Mentso' belong to the White maps, though the first could also have come through Molyneux, while 'Endesockes' most probably did. There is, however, another group

[1] Alexander Brown, *Genesis of the United States*, I, 455–61 (with a traced outline from the original), and I. N. P. Stokes, *Iconography of Manhattan Island, 1498–1909*, II, xxxix, and plate XXII (reproduction in colour from the original). There has recently been a suggestion that the map is later than the accepted date, but the evidence has not been discussed in detail (see Coolie Verner, 'The first maps of Virginia, 1590–1673', in *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, LVIII (1950), 7). Stokes (II, 57) suggested that John Daniel had a hand in its composition.

which has not been found elsewhere: 'Chacandepeco', 'Cape Kenrick', 'Port Grinuil' and 'Port Lane'. While the two last could have been invented, 'Cape Kenrick' is not very likely to be a deduction from the text of the 1590 narrative,[1] and 'Chacandepeco' is clearly Indian. The combination of known sources with the intrusion of one or more that are otherwise unknown gives it an original value that is not shared by John Smith's map of 'Ould Virginia'. The Velasco map has many links with Smith for the new Virginia of 1607–11, and the incorporation of some material based on the overland excursions southward from Jamestown from 1607 may account for the greater detail given for the upper courses of the Roanoke and Chowan Rivers (the latter with substantial accuracy) and the marking of high ground south of the former. It is likely that its compiler had a map or maps differing from those already described at his disposal or else a personal informant. Once again Hariot could have been the man concerned since he was actively interested in the new Virginia ventures.[2] The Velasco map may thus be said to form a useful, though limited, supplement to White.

C. COMMENTARY ON THE MAP OF RALEIGH'S VIRGINIA

The location of many of the village sites and some of the tribal territories is, in greater or lesser degree, conjectural. The pioneer map for the village and tribal sites south of the present Virginia state line is that by Dr Maurice A. Mook in his paper, 'Algonkian ethno-history of the Carolina Sounds', in *Journal of the Washington Academy of Sciences*, XXXIV, 183, and while it has been followed in a majority of instances, variations from its interpretations are indicated below. Fathers Lewis and Loomie have worked on the location of sites of this period north of the state line. As regards the Carolina Outer Banks none of the historical works of a general character on the North Carolina Indians so far published has been of much value, but where detailed studies have been used they are acknowledged below. The numbers below are a key to the general map and include all place-names and tribal names used in the contemporary maps discussed above, the variant forms used in the maps and the narratives being distinguished. In the characterization of the place-names 'Carolina Algonquian' means in the language of the tribes living south of the swamps which roughly

[1] Cp. pp. 610, 617 above. [2] Cp. pp. 388–9 above.

mark the present state line between North Carolina and Virginia, and 'Virginia Algonquian' in the language of the tribes which in the early seventeenth century formed the Powhatan confederacy. The Indian words should be used with the word-list and discussion below (pp. 873–900). They can be supplemented by many Indian place-names on recent and not so recent maps. The linguistic notes supplied by Professor James A. Geary provide some information on the character of Indian nomenclature, but the English forms of the names do not lend themselves readily to analysis in many instances.

1. Raleigh's Virginia, under the terms of his patent, extended, theoretically, for 600 miles in all directions, from any settlement which might be made under his auspices between 25 March 1584 and 24 March 1590. For practical purposes, however, it comprised the territory included in the map at the end of this volume, namely, from the Virginia Eastern Shore in the north to Cape Lookout in the south. To this area three general names were applied in the sixteenth century:

(*a*) *Jacan, Jacán* (*Ajacán*). This was what the Spaniards called the territories lying around St Mary's Bay (Chesapeake Bay) and also behind the Carolina Outer Banks from 1570 (see Woodbury Lowery, *Spanish settlements within the present limits of the United States*, II, 458–68; Lewis and Loomie, *Spanish Jesuit mission*, pp. 244–9; J. R. Swanton, *Indians*, pp. 70–1). Professor J. A. Geary considers that it probably represents *ācowahkān'*, contracted from *ācowahkāweni*, 'a crossing place'. The name originated in the James–York peninsula on Chesapeake Bay and is Virginia Algonquian.

(b) *Wingandacoia, Wigandecua, Wigandekoa, Winandichoa, Wingandacoa, Waingandacow, Wingan de Coy, Wingane Dehoy, Vingandicon, Wyngandacoia, Wynganecora, Wynganditoia, Mingandicoza, Quinvandequoie.* This was understood by Amadas and Barlowe to be the Carolina Algonquian name for the mainland where they landed, and the misapprehension was not corrected by Manteo and Wanchese when they learnt English. The name was superseded from 1587 on, though it was still used as an alternative to its successor. Raleigh gathered eventually that it meant 'you wear good clothes' or 'you wear gay clothes' (pp. 116–17 above), and W. R. Gerard (in Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians*, II, 957–8) analysed it as *wingatk*^{w}. However, Professor Geary considers that it is 'probably from **wīnk-āntakōli* "fine evergreens", the form ending in *-cora* representing an *r*-dialect, while the form in *-con* represents an *n*-dialect. *Wingatakw* seems to have been imagined by Gerard in order to connect the above-mentioned forms with Natick *wautakun* "Englishman" = "he who has a coat", which = **wātuhkunäwa*, a "changed" form based on *utuhkunäwi-* "have a coat", in which the main stem is *-hkunä* "covering, blanket, coat"; a form *wingatakw* cannot be made from this. Natick had *wek-* for **wīnk-*, as

in *wekon* "it is sweet", and *nk* appears as *k* in Natick, so that *wingatakw* is impossible in Natick. The form *wīnkāntakwi* (singular) which I propose very likely refers to a particular kind of evergreen, perhaps a sweet-smelling kind like "balsam-fir", some of which seemingly were in the landscape thought to be indicated by the gesture. Raleigh was sure of the original misinterpretation, but apparently made another mistake in the attempted correction!'

(c) *Ossomocomuck*, *Affamacomock*, *Afamacomock*, *Affamacomocke*. This emerges in 1587 and 1589, instead of *Wingandacoia*, as the presumed Carolina Algonquian name for the mainland. The 'f' forms are evidently due to a confusion with the long 's' (apparently in the form used by White and probably Hariot, cp. pp. 410–11, 508, 575), as there is no Algonquian 'f'. Strachey's *Tsenahcommacoh* (*Hist. of travell*, pp. 37, 56), a name for the Powhatan confederacy, is taken by F. G. Speck (*Powhatan tribes of Virginia*, pp. 294–5) to mean 'long house people', from the characteristic dwelling of the southern coastal Algonkian peoples. Professor Geary does not agree and suggests the word is probably *āsam-ahkamikwi* 'the land opposite' or 'facing', *ahkamikwi* being apparently 'land dwelt upon', 'dwelling-house', 'house-site', Strachey's form having *tsen* = *tcīn* 'close together' as a prefix.

2. *Combec* or *Comboc* (White 1), *Comokee* (De Bry), and *Mashawatoc* or *Mashawatec* (White 1) are village sites probably, though not certainly, in Northampton County, Virginia Eastern Shore. This was the territory of the Accomac tribe, for which the first name may be a corruption. Professor Geary says '*Accomac* looks like *akāmenki* "on the opposite side", with the locative ending *-enki* reduced to *-ek*, written *-ac*'.

3. This unnamed site in White 1 is probably between the James and the York Rivers and is possibly Kecoughtan (cp. Strachey, *Hist. of travell*, pp. 67–8). It was known only by hearsay.

4. The island in White 1 was evidently intended for that of which Menatonon told Lane, and it was possibly the objective of the 1587 colony when it left England. It may be intended for Old Point Comfort, Smith's 'little Ile' (*Works*, p. 10), or one of the islands up the James River, even Jamestown itself. William Strachey (*Hist. of travell* (1953), p. 131) mentions about 1612 that 'there is extant an old plott, which his Lordship [Lord De La Warr] hath shewed me, wherein by a Portugall our seat is layd out, and in the same 2. silver Mynes pricked downe'. Could this possibly be a sketch-map by Simon Fernandez for the location of the 1587 colony? A wine jug and olive jar of Spanish origin have been recovered at Kecoughtan. (Cp. Lewis and Loomie, *Spanish Jesuit mission*, pp. 31–3, 94, 234.)

5. For the erosion indicated at Cape Henry see B. H. Latrobe, 'Memoir on the sandhills of Cape Henry in Virginia', in *Trans. Amer. Phil. Soc.*, IV (1799), 439–43 (repr. *American Journ. of Science*, 2nd ser., XL (1865), 20–4).

6. *Chesepiock* (Molyneux), *Chesepiooc sinus* (De Bry), *Chesepiock Bay* (Velasco), as the name of the Bay. Professor Geary says 'I believe this to be

from *k'tc-äs-cpyäki*, where *k'tc-* is for *ke'tci-* "big", + *äsi-* "shellfish", + *-cpyäki* "expanse of water", "bay", which seems to be logical for Chesapeake Bay in view of the numerous shell-mounds, which go back at least to the sixteenth century, and in view of the present importance of the oyster and clam fisheries. But it should be noted that *-cpyä-*, in composite words, has the same meaning as *-cpyäki* when final in a compound (cp. no. 8).'

7. CHESEPIANS, a word simulating a Latin form, no doubt based on the preceding. A Virginia Algonkian tribe, occupying in 1585–6 the land around Lynnhaven Bay. Lewis and Loomie (*Spanish Jesuit mission*, pp. 235–6), put this tribe between the Elizabeth and Nansemond Rivers, thus pushing the locations of nos. 7–10 substantially to the west. It is improbable that this is correct. (Cp. Swanton, *Indian tribes*, p. 67.)

8. *Chesepiuc* (White 1 and 2), *Chesepiooc* (De Bry), *Chesapiuk* (Molyneux), *Checepiock* (Velasco). Professor Geary comments that 'as the name of a village it should normally be a plural animate form, as if "those who are of...". It appears to be *k'tc-äs-cpyä-waki* which might be expressed as "great-shellfish-water-people". If, in no. 6 above, the name is not that of the bay, but of the people residing near it, this etymology might be accepted there also. It is evident that the English transferred the names of places to persons and *vice versa* and that they transferred names of places to groups of people and *vice versa*.'

9. *Apasus* (De Bry) is, Professor Geary says, 'probably *apāsesuwa* "he basks in the sun" (cp. no. 10)', a village of the Chesapeake tribe on Lynnhaven Bay.

10. *Skicóak* (White 1), *Scicoac* (White 2), *Scicóak* (De Bry), *Schycoake*, *Skicoaka*, an important village (Barlowe heard of it as a 'Citie', pp. 106, 110 above), apparently of the Chesapeake tribe, and probably situated on the South Branch of the Elizabeth River, not far from Great Bridge, Va. It is unlikely, though not impossible, that it was visited by the exploring party which went to Chesapeake Bay in 1585, but it is at least probable that they met Indians from there. It is likely to be the village named Chesapeake in the early seventeenth century (so-called by the survivors of the Chesapeake tribe after its disruption by war, cp. Smith, *Works*, p. xliv and map; Strachey, *Hist. of travell*, pp. 43, 108). Professor Geary says it 'seems to be **açkikwaki* "seals", with apheresis of the initial vowel which is not rare in the Algonquian languages. A news item dated Sept. 8, 1951, tells of a hooded seal caught in the Delaware River. Cp. no. 9, as seals are notorious for basking in the sun.'

11. TRIPANICKS, a tribe located, apparently, to the west of the Chesepians. It may possibly be identified with the Virginia Algonkian Nansemond tribe, located on the Nansemond River early in the seventeenth century (Swanton, *Indian tribes*, p. 68). The name is presumably that by which they were known by their neighbours amongst whom the English were guests—though it could be associated with a gens-name. If the name is associable with Strachey's *Assapanick* 'flying-squirrels', it would be in the same category as Mangoaks (no. 18 below), though without a disagreeable connotation. Professor Geary

comments that 'the word looks Algonquian except for *tr*, which could perhaps be for *ts*, for *ke'tc-* "big" (cp. no. 40, *Tramasqueac*, where Smith has *Tamasqueac* "beavers", from **ke't-amexkwaki*). In neither word is *ke'tc* to be expected, but rather *ke't*, only syncopated to *kt-* (the glottal stop disappearing presumably, but something may have been heard that suggested *tr*). Following this analogy one might propose *tipanick* (for *tapanick*) from *ke't-ahpanyäki* "great tubers", in which *yä* might become *i* as in Ojibwa, or *e* as in Cree. Strachey's *Assapanick* would be a compound which I cannot analyse, but cp. Fox *äsepanak*^{i}, Ojibwa *äsibanag* "raccoons" (J. A. Cuoq, *Lexique de la langue algonquine*, deriving it from *äsi-* "mollusk" + *-p-* "eat" + ?, raccoons being mollusk-eating). I do not think this word is to be associated with Tripanicks, but prefer the suggestion that the latter means "big tubers" as a description of a place where they grow.'

12. Two unnamed village sites on White 1 may, very tentatively, be located on either side of the Nansemond River, as settlements heard of by the exploring party of 1585–6. If so, they would belong to the Tripanick tribe, provided the identification of this tribe is correct. In the early seventeenth century the village of Mattanock was on the west bank of the Nansemond and Mantoughquemec on the east (Smith, *Works*, map).

13. Opossians, a tribe located, apparently, to the west of the Tripanicks, which may have been the same as the seventeenth-century neighbours of the Nansemond tribe, the Algonkian Warrasqueoc (Speck, *Powhatan tribes of Virginia*, map), rather than the Iroquoian Nottaway, of the Nottoway River. Indians from it visited the exploring party of 1585–6 (p. 257 above). Here there is no doubt that the name is an animal one, again probably a name given them by their neighbours and not necessarily a disagreeable one (cp. nos. 11, 18), the Virginia Algonquian *oppusum*, *opossum*, *oposson* 'opposum' (Strachey, *Hist. of travell*, p. 124; Smith, *Works*, p. 59).

14. The most northerly inlet in the Carolina Outer Banks, near Deals, appears in White 1 and 2. The inclusion of the detail 'Sho.', obviously for 'Sho*al*', in Currituck Sound near the inlet, is a pointer to the use of the inlet by the exploring party of 1585–6 either going or returning, or both (cp. the alternative routes shown on the map).

15. The inlet at the northern end of Croatamung Island is absent from White 1 and 2, but is given twice in De Bry (figs. 5 and 8) and in Velasco (fig. 10). The island to the north of the inlet is not named in any of the maps.

16. *Croatamung* (White 1 and 2; Molyneux), *Croatamang* (Velasco), the most northerly named island in the Carolina Outer Banks. Professor Geary comments: 'The consonant-cluster *cr* can exist in an Algonquian language only by syncopation of a vowel. I can suggest only *kelawi-*, *kelō-* by contraction before certain consonants, meaning "talk". The ending *-amung* appears to be Algonquian and occurs frequently (along with *-amaug* in New England). Although it has been explained as "fishing-place", *-amä-*, referring to fish in a compound, is a noun, there being no verbal element in it. What *-ama-* means

in New England, and probably everywhere, is "road", "path", "where one goes". My opinion is that *Croatamung* goes back to an old, uncontracted form **kelaw-ōtä-y-āmunki* "where the way leads to the council-town" (literally "talk-town") in a dialect that showed considerable syncopes like Micmac and Potawotami. In an *r*-dialect, *kelō-* would appear as *kerō-*, and by syncope *krō-*. The spellings which have *-toa-* in the second syllable only emphasize the long *ā* that preceded the ending *-munki* (cp. nos. 57–9).'

17. *Tetipano* (White 2), *Titepano* (White 1), apparently the Carolina Algonquian name for Currituck Sound. Professor Geary says 'it seems to be **tetep-anwi-wi*, from *tetep-* "whirling around" + the inanimate copula *-an(wi)-* which applies to natural phenomena like weather and growth. I have not yet made a complete study of the application of *-an(wi)-*, but feel sure that it could apply to currents in a body of water. The meaning would be "there is a swirling current", or "it swirls around".' This may well have fitted as a description of Currituck Sound in the sixteenth century when it acted as one of the outlets of Albemarle Sound.

18. MANGOAKS, *Mandoags*, *Mandoaks*, *Mandoages*, *Mongoack*, a Carolina Algonquian name, apparently meaning 'rattlesnakes', for an Iroquoian tribe living to the west of the Chowanoac, between the Meherrin and Roanoke Rivers (though De Bry's placing is south of the Roanoke River). Dr M. A. Mook ('Algonkian ethno-history', *Journ. Wash. Acad. Sci.* XXXIV (1944), pp. 185, 195; Swanton, *Indians*, p. 218) considered them to be the later Nottaway (the name being Virginia Algonquian for 'adders', cp. nos. 11, 13), though Speck (*Powhatan tribes of Virginia*, map) regarded them as the Meherrin, another Iroquoian tribe, later occupying the area between the Meherrin and Nottoway Rivers. (Cp. Swanton, *Indian tribes*, p. 65.)

19. River of Chawanoac, the modern Chowan River.

20. CHAWANOAC (De Bry), *Choanists*, *Choanokes*, *Chawanooks*, *Chaonists*, *Chanoists*, a Carolina Algonkian tribe of the Chowan River, occupying from the junction of the Meherrin and Nottoway Rivers almost down to Albemarle Sound (Mook, 'Algonkian ethno-history', pp. 189–92). The name is said to be Carolina Algonquian for 'people at the south', i.e. a tribe which had only recently gone south, which, in turn, could reflect a fairly recent migration of the whole Carolina Algonkian group of tribes (cp. Swanton, *Indians*, p. 217, *Indian tribes*, p. 77).

21. *Chawanoac* (White 1), *Chawanooc* (White 2), *Chawanook* (De Bry), *Chowanoake*, *Chawanooke*, *Choanoke*, *Chowanoke*, *Choanoak*, *Choanok*, a Carolina Algonkian village, being the seat of the Chawanoac tribe, located, with some plausibility, just south of the junction of Wiccacan Creek with the Chowan River (Mook, 'Algonkian ethno-history', pp. 189–93), and described (p. 259 above) as a town having 700 fighting men.

22. *Ramushonnouk* (probably the form intended by De Bry's *Ramushouuōq*), a village located, it would seem, between the Nottoway and Meherrin Rivers.

It may be a settlement of the Chawanoac tribe, or an Algonquian name for a village of the Mangoaks or Opposians. Professor Geary says the word is 'apparently from *rām-* representing **athami-* "inside", "underneath" + *acä-* "back(wards)" + *-ʉʉ-*, a middle element indicating hand-movement for one's own benefit, + *-waki* animate plural noun- or verb-ending, as if "those who paddle back by the inside [hidden?] way" '.

23. *Ohanoak, Ohaunoock* (De Bry), *Ooanoke*, a Carolina Algonkian village of the Chawanoac tribe, in the vicinity of Colerain (Mook, 'Algonkian ethno-history', pp. 191–2). Lane referred to it (p. 259 above) as the 'blinde Towne', but this does not assist in the interpretation of the word.

24. *Metackwem, Mettaquen, Metocuuem* (De Bry), *Metakquam* (Velasco), an Indian village placed in De Bry between the mouths of the Chowan and Roanoke Rivers, near their entry into Albemarle Sound. Lane includes it as a village of the Weapemoc tribe (in which case its site might have been on the left bank of the Chowan River), but it may perhaps have been a Chawanoac settlement (cp. Mook, 'Algonkian ethno-history', p. 192). The word, Professor Geary suggests, is possibly *metāxkwä* 'big woods', or *metekwani* 'trees'.

25. *Tandaquomuc* (De Bry), *Tandagocomeri* (Molyneux), an Indian village placed by De Bry a little south of Metackwem, between the mouths of the Chowan and Roanoke Rivers, and belonging either to the Weapemeoc or Chawanoac tribes, Mook ('Algonkian ethno-history', p. 192) preferring the latter. Professor Geary says '*Tandaquomuc* looks like **ke't-āntakw-āmuki* "where the road goes by the big evergreens", with the loss of *k-* after syncopation *kt-*. Alternative to *-āmuki* "road goes", one might suggest *-āmexki* "soil", "ground".'

26. *Warowtani* (White 1), *Waratan* (De Bry), an Indian village, placed by White approximately at the site of Edenton and consequently within the Weapemeoc tribe. De Bry moved it up the Chowan River and Mook ('Algonkian ethno-history', p. 189) accepts the probably misleading implication of this by including it, instead, in the Chowanoac tribe. Professor Geary says the word 'seems to have *war-* from **wāth-* "hollow", "dig" + *-owtani, -atan* (for *otan*?), from **ōtäni* "town", "dwelling-place", "settlement", as if "village in a hollow".'

27. *Cautaking* (White 1), *Catokinge* (De Bry), *Cataking* (Velasco), an Indian village of the Weapemeoc tribe located by White on the eastern bank of the Perquimans River estuary. De Bry, however, places it north of Warowtani, on the Chowan River, which leads Mook ('Algonkian ethno-history', p. 189) to include it in the Chawanoac tribe, though in all probability mistakenly. Professor Geary regards the name to be '**kāt-axking* "at the land that pushes", "juts", "bulges out", as if into a river'.

28. River of Moratuc, the Roanoke River.

29. Moratuc, *Morotico, Moratoc, Moratiks, Moratok*, a Carolina Algonkian tribe located on the Roanoke River (Mook, 'Algonkian ethno-history',

pp. 193–4, 'A newly discovered Algonkian tribe of Carolina', in *American Anthropologist*, n.s., XLV (1943), 635–7; Swanton, *Indian tribes*, p. 82).

30. *Moratuc* (White 1 and 2; De Bry), *Maratuc* (Molyneux), *Moratuck* (Velasco), *Morotico*, *Moratoc*, the seat of the Moratuc tribe, placed by White on the south bank of the Roanoke River and probably situated east of the junction of Welch Creek and the river. De Bry placed it on the northern bank further up-stream (cp. Mook, *op. cit.*). Professor Geary regards Moratuc as 'the name of a river, ending in *-atekw-* "current", "wave", "river". The prior part seems to be for **myāl-* "bad", hence "bad river", perhaps meaning dangerous river.' The meaning 'nice' or 'good' river (supported by Dr Mook, *op. cit.*) would refer to **meluwi-*, which would not produce *Mor-*, whereas *ā* is usually spelt *o* in the English forms. The meaning 'dangerous river' would certainly fit the Roanoke River from the danger its current offered to canoes attempting to ascend it (cp. p. 263 above).

31. *Chaunis Temoatan*, *Chaunis Temoatam*, *Chawnis Temoatan*, a village or district, real or mythical, where the Chawanoac tribe believed copper (or gold) was to be found. W. W. Tooker, followed by Swanton (pp. 268–9 above), took the name to mean 'salt-making village'. This, Professor Geary says, 'has the support of Strachey's *sawwone* "salt" (*Hist. of travell*, p. 200), but it runs counter to the fact that "salt" in Ojibwa is *jīwitāgan* (Baraga), and in Algonkin *cīwitāgan* (Cuoq). If this is the name of a town it must be read as one word, the final element being *ōtāni* "town", therefore *Chaunistemoatan*. *Tcānis* means "offspring", "child" (especially "daughter" in Fox), a possessive being required. The third person possessive would be *u-*, and this might be lost by apheresis. So one thinks of "daughter-town", which, if good in English, is not necessarily so in Algonquian. This still leaves *-tem-* to be explained. **temi-* meaning "deep" could give "deep daughter-town".' This does not seem inappropriate as a description of a distant settlement believed to be dependent on the Mangoak tribe (cp. p. 270).

32. WEAPEMEOC (White 1; De Bry), *Weapomoc* (Velasco), *Weapemeoke*, *Weapomiok*, *Weopomioke*, a Carolina Algonkian tribe located between the Chowan River and Currituck Sound along the northern shore of Albemarle Sound. Dr Mook ('Algonkian ethno-history', p. 196, n. 37) takes the name to be Carolina Algonquian *Weopim-ok* 'the bear place'. Professor Geary, however, says: 'The variants point to *wiyapam-*, but all I can suggest is *wīhāh-pemyāk'* (with *y* lost after *m*) "where shelter from the wind is sought", cp. Fox (etc.) *wīh-* "wish", "seek" + Fox *āhpemyā* "shelter from the wind" (cp. Ojibwa-Algonkian *ohpime-* "on the side", "aside") + *-ki* inanimate or impersonal animate ending of conjunctive mood, like French *on*. The only sign of *y* after a consonant that I have seen in Indian forms from this region is the *e* of the first form above, and the *i* of *Chesepiock* and its variants. As for the meaning "bear", if the form was *Wapemok*, *Wapemoc*, it could mean "white bear", which it might be, but would seem to need a preceding stem indicating

what is to be done to the bear, or what the bear does, and some pronominal ending, as *Mascomenge* (no. 34).' Hakluyt in 1589 indexed *Weopomioke* 'a broad sound in Virginia, so called by the Sauages', giving a reference which is Lane's naming of the tribe (p. 258 above). (Cp. Swanton, *Indian tribes*, pp. 88–9.)

33. *Weapemeoc*, the seat of the Weapemeoc tribe, not marked on the maps but apparently situated near or at the head of the Perquimans River estuary.

34. *Mascomenge* (White 1), *Mascoming* (De Bry), *Mascamunge*, a village of the Weapomeoc tribe, situated at or near the junction of the Yeopim River and Albemarle Sound (Mook, 'Algonkian ethno-history', p. 188). Of the word, Professor Geary says that 'if *-ng* is not an error for *-nge* it would seem to indicate a haplogy for *Maco-min-ing*, a locative form for "at the [place of the] bear-berries", but if it indicates English *ndg*, it agrees with the other forms and suggests Ojibwa *mahkwimij* "sorb", "service-tree" (Baraga), Algonkin *mahkwiminj*, *-mij* (Lemoine, s.v. "cormier"), Fox *mahkomici* "sumach", and Delaware *-minschi* "tree". In the prior part *masco-*, *maco-*, if exact, indicate two different dialectal forms for **maxkwi* "bear". The forms which have *-nge* also indicate a dialect that retains the nasal combinations, like Delaware, but unlike Natick and Fox. Hence there is an indication of four dialects in this small group of words' (cp. Strachey, *Hist. of travell*, pp. 209–10).

35. *Ricahokene* (White 1), a village of the Weapemeoc tribe apparently situated on the eastern side of the Perquimans River estuary near its junction with Albemarle Sound. Professor Geary comments on the word: 'Strachey has *ricahone* "a comb" (*Hist. of travell*, p. 199), cp. **līk-* "divide", "distribute", Woods Cree *yīk*, Fox, Ojibwa *nīk*, Fox having *nīkahw-* (with animate object), and *nīkah-* (with inanimate object), which agrees very well with *-aho-*. The final portion *kene* may be from *-chkwäni* "head", "hair of the head", if *-kwä-* became *-kī-*, in a local dialect as it did in Menominee. What "head-comb" would mean as the name of a place is not clear, but if the final *-kene* is a misreading of *-kone* (from *-hkāni*) it would mean either "place where combing is done" or "where combs are made", while perhaps the idea of "rake" or something similar is contained in "comb".'

36. *Masequetuc* (White 1), *Masquetuc* (White 2), *Masequetuck* (Velasco), a village of the Weapemeoc tribe, probably situated on the western side of the Pasquotank River estuary near its junction with Albemarle Sound. Dr Mook is mistaken ('Algonkian ethno-history', p. 188) in thinking it identical with *Pasquenoke* (no. 37). Professor Geary comments: 'The final portion seems to be from **-atekwa* "wave", "current", "stream". The prior portion is hard to judge. If it is really *masque-* it seems to be "weedy", as if "weedy river", but if it is *maseque-* I cannot suggest any meaning except to point out that in Fox the word for "weed", "plant-growth", has a variant *macihki* besides *macki* and *mackihki*. However, if *masqu-* is correct, in this area, for "bear", then "bear-river" would be plausible.'

37. *Pasquenoke* (De Bry), *Pasequonak* (Velasco), *Pyshokonnok, Passaquenoke*, a village of the Weapemeoc tribe situated on the western side of the Pasquotank River estuary, about half way between Elizabeth City and Albemarle Sound. Lane calls it 'the womans Towne', and this has been taken (Mook, *op. cit.* p. 188) to produce *pa-skwen-ok*, 'the women's village', though Lane may be referring to the rule of a woman there (cp. pp. 258, 267 above). Professor Geary says, however, that the modern Pasquotank 'seems to be *pāsk-e'tan-ki* "where the current [or "stream"] divides or forks", from *pāxkwi-* "fork", which is *pāskwi-* in Cree also. The variants above can also contain this. Their latter portion seems to be the element found in Fox as *-enāki* meaning "in the land of", so perhaps "in the land of the fork-(people)", "people of the fork". The suggestion of "women's village" is not tenable as *pa-* would mean "come", but *pa* + *eskwe* + *enāki* (as above) would mean "the land of the immigrant women" which is possible.'

38. *Chepanoc, Chepanum* (De Bry), *Chiapanok* (Molyneux), *Chepannock* (Velasco), *Chipanum, Chypanum*, a village of the Weapomeoc tribe with a fish-weir, possibly situated on the eastern bank of the Little River estuary, a little way above its junction with Albemarle Sound (cp. Mook, 'Algonkian ethno-history', p. 188). Professor Geary says the word 'looks like Fox *tcīpān-ahki* "land of the dead" ["cemetery"?]. The representation of *ā* by *a* rather than by *o* may be due to the fact this syllable is unaccented in this word.'

39. *Mequopen* (De Bry), *Mesquopenung* (Velasco), a village situated, apparently, on the eastern bank of the Scuppernong River. It is likely that this village, with Tramaskecooc (no. 40), belonged to a tribe occupying the southern shore of Albemarle Sound and the swamp-forest behind. Lane would, most likely, have mentioned it had they come under Wingina. Dr Mook ('Algonkian ethno-history', pp. 215–16) regarded these villages as being within the Secotan tribe (no. 75), but this is unlikely. Professor Geary analyses the word as follows: 'The variation *mequo-, mesquo-* may indicate a dialectal difference, and suggests the Primitive Algonquian **meskwi-* "red". *mequo-* would be of the Cree pattern, while *mesquo-* would be of the Fox-Ojibwa-Algonkin-Natick pattern. The second part seems to be for **oxpenya* "tuber", in the short form, and **oxpeniwinki* "there are tubers" in the longer form. It should be observed that **ny* appears as *y* in *yeough* "four" (= "they are four" *nyāwiwaki*?) for *nyāw*^{i} (pronunciation of *yeough*?). The *wi* normally became *u*, and apparently there is a contraction by which *iwi* also became *u*. So the short form seems to mean "red tuber" and the longer "where there are red tubers".' The latter may be roots, such as Dogwood roots, used for making a red stain or dye (cp. pp. 215–16 above).

40. *Tramaskecooc* (White 1 and 2), *Tramasquecoock* (De Bry), a village situated at the head of the estuary of the Alligator River, Tyrell County. Like Mequopen, its tribal affiliation is doubtful. Dr Mook ('Algonkian ethno-history', p. 216) considered it to mean 'people of the white-cedar swamps'

but Professor Geary does not regard this as possible and suggests it may be for 'beavers' (cp. no. 11 above).

41. *Roanoac* (White 1 and 2; De Bry), *Roanoack* (Velasco), *Roanoak*, *Raonoak*, *Croonoake*, *Roanocke*, *Roanoake*, *Roanaac*, Roanoke Island ('y^e^ kinges ill' of the 1585 sketch-map), between the mainland and the Carolina Outer Banks. The name of the tribe of which it was the centre is likely to have been the same, since Professor Geary points out that its probable meaning is 'northern people' based, apparently, 'on Delaware *lowanneu* "northern" (Brinton) and *rowaniwaki* would seem to be the local form which became *Roanoac*. Alternatively, the use of *Roanoac*, *Roenoke*, etc., for "shell-beads" goes back at least to Beverley (1705), and seems to be the same as Smith's *Rawrenoke* (*Works*, p. 518), of which the singular appears in Strachey's *Rarenaw*, "Cheyne" or "Cheine" (*Hist. of travell*, p. 179: "chain of beads" no doubt). W. R. Gerard's derivation (in Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians*, II, 392–3) from *râr* (Primitive Algonquian **lāl-*) "rub", "abrade", "smooth", "polish", is quite satisfactory. The following *-en-* means "by hand-movement", and the pronominal ending is what appears in Fox as *-äwaki* which would be written *-awaki* in English spelling and, not surprisingly, contracted to *-oac*, *-oke*.' (Cp. Swanton, *Indians*, pp. 481–3; Mook, 'Algonkian ethno-history', p. 226.)

42. *Roanoac*, village at the north-western end of Roanoke Island and the seat of the Roanoke tribe (though Dr Mook, *op. cit.*, would prefer to regard it as the seat of the Secotan tribe). It was enclosed and had only nine houses (p. 107 above). The erosion of the north-west tip of the island has submerged it, but Indian artifacts (which may possibly include some dating from the late sixteenth century) have been recovered from the shore (a full account of what was found, with photographs, is in the typescript by Dr Charles W. Porter, 'Report of an archaeological reconnaissance of the proposed Cape Hatteras National Seashore Area, May 28–30, 1938', in the National Park Service Archives). Mr Harrington informs me that, up to June 1953, surface indications of three other villages, one due south of the fort and two near Baum Point, have been found in the northern part of the island.

43. 'Fort Raleigh' and its surroundings now form a National Historic Site under the National Park Service. For details of what has been done there, cp. pp. 903–10 below.

44. While the present marshy tail of Roanoke Island was much shorter in the sixteenth century there were many small islets, most of them probably little more than marshy accumulations, in what is now Croatan Sound (cp. the 1585 sketch-map; White 1 and 2; De Bry), while Pedro Diaz maintained that it was possible to cross from the island to the mainland by foot (p. 789 above). They persisted, apparently, into the nineteenth century when the closing of inlets diverted the Albemarle Sound water from Currituck and Roanoke Sounds (which were then, probably, deeper) to Croatan Sound, thus sweeping the islets away (cp. p. 841 above; William Hack's chart in Brit. Mus., Additional

MS. 5415; *Report from the Committee on Roads and Canals and on a canal from Albemarle Sound to the Atlantic* (26th Congress, 1st Session, House of Representatives, no. 648, 10 July 1840); 'Reports of sundry surveys of Hamilton Fulton, esq.', in *Reports of the North Carolina Board of Internal Improvements for 1819 and 1820* (Raleigh, N.C.)).

45. *Trinety Harbor* (De Bry), *Trinitie harbor* (Molyneux), *Trinitie Harbro* (Velasco), an inlet in the Carolina Outer Banks between Deals and Duck. It is, apparently, the most northerly of the inlets on the 1585 sketch-map, of which Lane says that it had 8 feet of water on the bar at high-water (p. 201 above). It is strange that it does not appear on White 1, though it may possibly be represented by a very slight break in the pen-work on White 2, so that it would seem that De Bry added it as the result of a correction by White. The name may derive from some earlier Spanish chart, but it is not unlikely that it was so named from its discovery on one of the Sundays after Trinity.

46. *Etacrewac* (White 1 and 2), the island in the Carolina Outer Banks south of Trinity Harbour. Professor Geary says the word 'evidently contains a consonant group *cr* which is impossible in Algonquian unless a vowel between the consonants has been syncopated. A confusion of *r* and *w* is suggested. If the initial vowel could be read as *ā* (with an English value), I would propose *ātakw-āwak* "ever-green-ground", but would the Englishmen interpret Algonquian *ā* as English *ā*? In any case Virginia Algonquian **āntakw-āwank-* would lose the nasals in one of the dialects represented in this general area, and appear as *ātakwāwak*.'

47. The inner shore of Etacrewac (on White 1 and 2) incorporates what is now Colington Island. Its general configuration is not dissimilar to that of this part of Bodie Island (including Kitty Hawk Bay) today, though the inner shore has, in fact, been built up to approximately the same extent as the outer shore has been eroded. Mr Harrington tells me surface indications of Indian sites (of this period?) have been found on Colington Is. (2), near Mann Pt., at Nags Head, and immediately south of the causeway leading to Roanoke Island.

48. *Pº Lane* (Velasco) is the only name found for an inlet through the Carolina Outer Banks which is on all the maps. While the name may go back to 1585, White does not appear to differentiate the inlet from Port Ferdinando nearby (pp. 529, 616 above), though it is mentioned specifically as an inlet in 1588 (p. 810 above).

49. The small island between Port Lane and Port Ferdinando is on the White maps and is mentioned in 1587, 1588 and 1590 (pp. 529, 616, 810), but is not named. In Lawson's map in *A new voyage to Carolina* (1709) its equivalent was 'Dugs Is.', lying between 'Body Is.' and 'Cow Is.', though there had, by that time, been considerable movement of the inlets. The Spanish accounts would suggest it consisted largely of a high sand-dune covered by vegetation.

50. *Port Ferdinando* (White 1), *P. Hatorack* (Molyneux), *Pº Fernande* (Velasco),

the inlet discovered by Simon Fernandez, after whom it was called, probably in 1584, and described by Lane in 1585 (cp. pp. 201–2). Its site was a little to the north of the present Oregon Inlet, in Bodie Island. It had a bar with 12 feet of water at high tide, and it is probable that the slipway found there by the Spaniards was built in 1585 (p. 811 above). After 1585 it was generally called *Hatarask*, the same name as the island to the south of it. It was the main channel to Roanoke Island, the route leading through Roanoke Sound to a creek north-west of the present Baum Point.

51. *Hatarask, Hotoras, Hatorask, Hatorasck, Hatrask, Otterasco, Ottorasko*, the Carolina Algonquian name for the northern part of the island which extended from Port Ferdinando almost to Cape Hatteras. The name covered the part as far south, approximately, as Rodanthe where the Banks then extended eastwards to Cape Kenrick (cp. nos. 52-3). Professor Geary compares the word with 'Fox *atenāwi* "less", Cree *tiyāwi* "amoindrir" (in compounds), as if Primitive Algonquian **atelāw-ackwi-wi* "there is less vegetation", with contraction (quite normal) to *atelāckiwi*, the contrast being with no. 46 above'. White, in 1590, gives us some idea of the relatively bare character of the northern tip of this island (p. 611 above), but much of it was then well-wooded.

52. *Kenricks Mounts* or *Kindrickers Mounts* were sand-hills, probably crescentic dunes, possibly fixed by tree-covering, on Hatarask Island. They were probably near (though something to the north-east of) the modern settlement of Rodanthe. White describes them as lying some way to the south of Port Ferdinando. It is likely that they lay immediately behind Cape Kenrick (no. 53) and were submerged or scattered when the cape was submerged. For a Spanish mention of such dunes see p. 810 above.

53. *Cape Kenrick* (Velasco), *C. Canrick* (Vingboons map of 1639, in Library of Congress), is clearly shown (though not named) by White. It is the major feature in the Carolina Outer Banks as they were in the sixteenth century which has been subsequently removed. White refers to it as 'the poynt that lyeth to the Southwardes of Kenricks mounts' (p. 617 above). Much discussion of the White maps in the past has been vitiated by the confusion of this cape with Cape Hatteras, but a closer study of the later seventeenth-century maps may well show that when they mark 'Cape Hattarass' (as does Nicholas Comberford's 'South Part of Virginia' of 1657 (in the New York Public Library)) they mean Cape Kenrick. The name is from a Carolina Algonquian word (or part of one). Professor Geary suggests that *Kenrick* may belong to **kente-läkaw-* 'sinking-down sand'. The headland disappeared sometime in the later seventeenth century, though whether as the gradual result of erosion or through submergence in an exceptional storm is not known. Where it had been there appear on Lawson's map (*A new voyage to Carolina* (1709)) shoals named *Chickinnaccomac*, the second and third syllables of which appear to be the same as *Kenrick*. It would appear that it was this word which further degenerated into the name of the modern Coast Guard Station at Rodanthe, Chickama-

comico. The shoals were charted and given their modern name of Wimble Shoals in James Wimble's *Chart...of North Carolina* (London, 1738).

54. *Paquiac* (White 1 and 2), *Paquiwoc* (De Bry), *Paqueack* (Velasco), is given for the part of the island of Hatarask which lay south of Cape Kenrick and extended almost to modern Cape Hatteras. This is now very low-lying, with marshy vegetation on the Sound side and low, shifting dunes and beach on the east. In the sixteenth century it appears to have been wider and higher with a substantial amount of vegetation. As late as 1840 there were substantial wooded areas with live oak, cedar, yaupon and laurel, with many grape-vines, forming the characteristic vegetation. John R. Spears ('Sand waves at Henlopen and Hatteras', in *Scribners' Magazine*, Oct. 1890, pp. 407–12) attributes the final destruction of the vegetation-cover to deforestation, while Dr Charles W. Porter ('Forest cover of the Cape Hatteras sea-shore area in historic times', unpublished report of 16 May 1938 in National Park Service Archives, Washington, D.C.) suggests grazing as a contributory factor. He draws attention to a map of 1852 by W. B. Franklin (in the U.S. Department of Defence) which indicates 'dead cedars' at various places where there is now only sand. He is inclined to underestimate the physical changes which have taken place on the coast, so that the dominant factor may have been the continuance of the same erosive process which removed Cape Kenrick. Professor Geary indicates that the word *Paquiac* is 'clearly from *päkwiyäki* "it is shallow", "there are shallows". The Primitive Algonquian form is **pänkwi*, as shown by Delaware, Ojibwa, and Algonkin. While the general meaning is "dry", "shallows" is clear from Fox.' It would appear, therefore, that Hariot and White picked up an Indian word descriptive of the adjacent shallow part of Pamlico Sound and applied it to part of the island.

55. *Cape S. John* (Velasco) is the modern Cape Hatteras, but is nowhere named by White. The name Cabo de San Juan goes back to the earliest Spanish maps of the American coast, but in Alonso de Chaves's revision of the *padron real* in 1536 (Stokes, *Iconography of Manhattan Island*, II, 22–3 and table after p. 40) it appears at lat. 37° N., and 20 leagues north-east of the Bahia de Santa Maria (apparently already the name for Chesapeake Bay). In Dee's map of 1580 (Taylor, *Hakluyts*, II, 517) it appears approximately at the site of the modern Cape Hatteras, but the Spanish materials on the 1588 voyage do not make it clear whether the name Cabo de San Juan then applied to it or to Cape Lookout (cp. p. 805 above). An approximate estimate of its movement since 1584 suggests that 4000 feet west and 4000 south is not unlikely, and this is set out (with the shoals described in 1590) with an extract from the current chart in an inset on the general map.

56. *Chacandepeco* (Velasco), a Carolina Algonquian word, possibly in a Spanish spelling, for the inlet through the Carolina Outer Banks immediately to the north of Cape Hatteras (cp. inset in map). Professor Geary says the word 'seems to represent **tcähk-änte-pähkwäwi*, in which *tcähki* is "dip into water",

ànte "disappear", and *pänkwi* "shallows", so it would mean "it dips and disappears as shallows". For the first element, perhaps *tcāki* "all" might be acceptable "it all disappears into shallows", but *tcähki* is better. The final part *-āwi* appears in the final *-o*.' There is now an abrupt change in the character of the Banks, north of Buxton, where this inlet was, the broad, forested dunes behind Cape Hatteras giving place to a low narrow beach. Mr Harry T. Davis told me that this was known in his youth as a 'haulover', a beach low enough to allow a fishing dory to be pulled across it. White gives soundings (p. 609 above; inset in map), while Hack's chart of 1684 has a 'Hatteras Inlett' which may be this one (after it had moved somewhat to the south) with his 'Cape Hatteras' being Cape Kenrick.

57. *Croatoan* is believed to have been a village of the Carolina Algonkian tribe of that name which resided on the island from Cape Hatteras southward. There are surface indications of a village north-east of the present site of Buxton, and almost on the shore of the former Chacandepeco inlet. Mr Harrington and other workers have picked up Indian artifacts on the site, but the only European object so far discovered is a casting-counter, identical with those discovered by Mr Harrington on Roanoke Island, made by Hans Schultes at Nürnberg for English use from the mid-sixteenth century onwards (cp. pp. 901, 908). This is a probable link with the Roanoke settlements. Indications of two other villages, but no European artifacts, were found south-west of Buxton. White expected to find the lost settlers at Croatoan in 1590. Lawson marked 'Indian Town' here on his map, and mentioned (*New voyage to Carolina* (1709), p. 62) that 'the Hatteras Indians' claimed to have had white ancestors. The linguistic indications would suggest this was a considerable Indian centre. Professor Geary says, 'granting that there was a syncope to explain *kr*, which is otherwise impossible in Algonquian, I would suggest the meaning "council-town" from **kelaw-ōtäweni* (literally) "talk-town", indicating the chief's residence and the place where councils were held, the centre of activities of the tribe (or group). *Kelaw-* would, in an *r*-dialect, become *keraw-*, *kerō*, and by syncopation *krō-*; *ōtäweni* "town", from *ōtä-* "family", "dwelling" + noun-ending *-weni*. I see no objection to supposing that this could contract to what would be written in English as *oatoan*; and the combination *krō-ōtän* could well sound to Englishmen as Kroatoan, with the first *oa* a monosyllable as in boat, and the second *oa* a disyllable representing *-äweni* (thought of as *-auwan*).'

58. CROATOAN, Carolina Algonkian tribe of which the foregoing was the seat, the later Hatteras Indians. (Cp. Swanton, *Indian tribes*, p. 80.)

59. *Croatoan* (White 1 and 2; De Bry; Velasco), the island in the Carolina Outer Banks extending from just north of Cape Hatteras to about half-way along the present Ocracoke Island. It was named by Lane 'my lord Admirals Island' in honour of Lord Howard of Effingham, created Lord High Admiral in 1585 (p. 283 above), and probably a subscriber to the 1585 expedition. From Cape Hatteras southward to the present Hatteras Inlet the island is still heavily

wooded and represents what a much greater part of the Outer Banks looked like in the sixteenth century.

60. *Pº Grinuil* (Velasco), an inlet through the Banks which, if the argument below is valid, was located about 3½ miles from the southern end of the modern island of Ocracoke, possibly at a point named locally as Nigh Inlet. (Personal observation and map made from air photographs given to me by Mr Carleton Kelly.) Strachey (*Hist. of travell*, p. 14) notes the name 'Port Greneuile' as current when he wrote (*c.* 1612).

61. *Wococon* (1585 sketch-map; White 1 and 2; Velasco), *Wokokon* (De Bry), *Wococan* (Molyneux), *Wokocon*, *Ococon*, *Ococan*, an island in the Carolina Outer Banks, described in 1584 as being uninhabited (p. 111 above). Both from its situation and its shape it appears probable that it was composed of parts of the present Ocracoke and Portsmouth Islands. At the southern end of Ocracoke there is a broad piece of land (about 3 miles long by 2½ miles broad), well consolidated by vegetation and evidently an old and comparatively stable part of the Banks. There is a similar nucleus in Portsmouth Island and it is clear that if the present Ocracoke Inlet did not exist the two portions would make up an island of roughly the size and shape shown by White. Although the inlets in this part of the Banks have changed, the shore and wind erosion is not as severe as north of Cape Hatteras so that shape is not an irrelevant consideration. The northern end of Ocracoke is low and narrow and most probably formed, in the sixteenth century, part of Croatoan Island. (Cp. Jonathan Price, 'A description of Occacock Inlet', *North Carolina Historical Review*, III (1926), 623–33, and, for the drastic changes in Portsmouth Island, A. R. Newsome, 'A miscellany from the Thomas Henderson letter-book, 1810–11', *North Carolina Historical Review*, VI (1929), 400–1.) Professor Geary says of the name that it 'seems to be for **wāxkahikani* "enclosed place", "fort", "stockade", "stronghold" = Fox *wāhkahikani*, Ojibwa-Algonkin *wakahigan*, Cree *wāskahigan*. If this is correct, it shows that **xk* did not always become *sk* in this region, but that there was a dialect that had *hk* as in Fox and Ojibwa-Algonkin (written *k* or *c*).' If this meaning is correct, it suggests, further, that Wococon had, at some time, contained a stockaded Indian village.

62. *Wococon*, an inlet south of the island of that name, called on the 1585 sketch-map (p. 215 above) 'the port of saynt maris' (the Spanish name for Chesapeake Bay being Bahia de Santa Maria). Lane had some doubts about it being St Mary's Bay but he gave a description of the inlet (p. 201 above). Through it Grenville's expedition of 11 June 1585 is likely to have penetrated in the Sounds.

63. *Endesockee* (Molyneux), *Endesockes* (Velasco), Indian name for the island in the Carolina Outer Banks, south of Wococon. The inlet, unnamed, to the south of it was shown on the 1585 sketch-map and subsequent maps, but it is not easy from the maps to get a good idea of its length and it is unlikely that any careful survey was made of it. It comprised, at least, the southern tip of

Portsmouth Island. Professor Geary says 'I can only suggest, with hesitation, *ãnte-sākesi-* which might mean something like "growth [lit. "sprouting"] is absent" (cp. no. 51 "less vegetation"), as if the vegetation-cover were less and less toward the south'.

64. *Cape Feare* (Velasco), *Promontorium tremendum* (De Bry), misunderstood in all modern accounts (which equate Cape Kenrick with the modern Cape Hatteras) to be the modern Cape Fear, and not, correctly, the modern Cape Lookout. The Spanish Cabo de Trafalgar, on which further inquiry is desirable, was sometimes the modern Cape Fear and sometimes Cape Lookout. Thus the *padron general* of 1536 (see no. 55) placed it 266 leagues north of Los Cabezes de los Martires and in lat. 35° 30′ N., which would bring it nearer to Cape Lookout, while Dee's 1580 map, relying no doubt on Spanish authorities, placed it at the modern Cape Fear (Taylor, *Hakluyts*, II, 517), as did, apparently, the González expedition of 1588 (p. 805 above). Either of the capes could be meant when on 23 June 1585 the *Tiger* was nearly wrecked 'on a breache called the Cape of Feare' (p. 188 above), and when White, in 1587, was 'nearly cast away vpon the breache, called the Cape of Feare' (p. 522 above).

65. In White 1, De Bry and Velasco the line of the Carolina Outer Banks southward from the modern Cape Lookout is unbroken by any inlets, though White 2 shows one breach which from its position would approximate to New River Inlet. Since, however, it leads through the Banks to the Sounds it may be intended rather for the modern Bogue Inlet, the Newport River at Beaufort, or some sixteenth-century inlet in their vicinity. White's coastline for this part of the coast has very little authority as it is very unlikely that he had a chance to survey it even in the most cursory fashion.

66. The unnamed cape in White 2 is clearly the modern Cape Fear, and the appended shoals suggest that he knew something about it. The 'Cape of Feare' is clearly shown here in Molyneux, 1592.

67. *Nomopano* is an Indian name found in Barlowe alone either for the Chowan River or for the western end of Albemarle Sound. Professor Geary says 'it looks like *nām-āp-anwi-wi* where *nōm* would be an *n*-dialect representation of **athāmi-* "beneath", "within", "deep down" (with apheresis), *-op-* representing **āpi-* "river", "current", "something extended" (cp. **āpōwi* "river"), and *-ano* = *-anwi-* an inanimate copula "it is", "it acts as a natural phenomenon"; the final pronominal ending *-wi-* being lost as usual everywhere except in Fox and a few other dialects. The meaning would be "the river [or "current"] flows down deep [as in a cañon]". But if it refers to a part of Albemarle Sound the meaning might be "there is a current beneath", perhaps a reference to an undertow.' Certainly an Indian reference to the strong currents in the Sound, whether or not the word was used as a place-name, would be quite appropriate.

68. *Occam*, the name of the river or sound on which Barlowe understood the 'city' of Scicóak (cp. no. 10 above) to lie. He evidently misunderstood what

the Indians said, as the word is a reference to the land beyond the water. Professor Geary says '*Occam* seems plainly to be **akāmi* "the opposite shore", a word found generally in the Algonquian languages. The accentuation would naturally be *occám*, but one can form no opinion as to where the English writers meant the accent to be placed.'

69. *Nausegoc*, given on White 2 for part of the Pamlico Sound, but intended for a place on the Sound. Professor Geary says 'This suggests a contraction from what might have been written *nausauhegoc*, from *näsähekwaki* "they are given a breathing-spell"; from Fox, Ojibwa, Algonkin *näsä-*, Abnaki *nasa-*, Menominee *nähne-*, Cree *yeye-*, Delaware *lehelle-*, representing Primitive Algonquian **lählä-* "breathe", "be well", whence "take a breathing-spell" as first element; as second element *-he-* "causative"; as third element *-(e)kw-* indicating an inverse action back on the subject (practically equivalent to a passive verb); and as final, the plural ending *-aki*, thus "they are given a breathing-spell", as if the place were a regular stopping-place for resting on a long canoe voyage. I have taken pains to indicate the composition of the word (supposing the contraction mentioned above, which is not extraordinary). My purpose is to show that when we have an exact transcription every sound can be accounted for, just as in Indo-European comparative grammar. This word happens to be a good example.' It would appear that a place on the shore, possibly between Dasemunkepeuc and Pomeiooc is intended.

70. *Mentso* (White 1 and 2; Velasco), marked as the central part of Pamlico Sound but apparently, again, a place on the Sound. Professor Geary says 'this looks like **mene'tesowa* "he cooks for the first time", as if this were a stopping-place for eating on a long voyage by canoe. *Mene'ta* "first", "first time", is justified by Fox, Ojibwa, Algonkin and Cree; *-esu-* "action by fire for oneself" (cooking) is in practically all the Algonquian languages.' If White got this word from the Roanoke Indians the place might be Pomeiooc or somewhere nearby.

71. *Cipo* in Barlowe alone for the Pamlico River and estuary. Professor Geary says it is 'apparently **sīpōwi* "river", as in Fox. This supposes *c* to have been used in English as *s* before palatal vowels.'

72. *Dasemunkepeuc* (White 1 and 2), *Dasamonquepeuc* (De Bry), *Desamonguepeunga* (Velasco), *Dasamonguepeuk*, *Dasamongueponk*, *Dasamonquepeio*, *Dasamonquepeuk*, *Dasamongwepeuk*, *Dasemonquepeuc*, *Adesmocopeia*, *Addesmacopeio*, *Addesmocopeia*, *Addesmocopeio*, a Carolina Algonkian village of the Roanoac tribe (no. 41), on the mainland opposite Roanoac village at, approximately, the present site of Manns Harbor. Professor Geary says that 'a comparison of all the variants, syllable by syllable, suggests that they are all based on *adesomekopewuk*, which yields to the following analysis: *ātes-* "distant", "distinct" + *-āmexki-* "ground", "land" + *-āpyä-* "extended surface" + *-w-* a buffer-consonant + *-axki* or *-anki*, conjunct-mode forms of the inanimate copulas *-at-* and *-an-*, both meaning "it is", "there is". So the meaning would be "where there is an extended land surface separated [by water]". (Cp. no. 68.)'

73. *Paquippe* (White 1), *Paquipe* (White 2, Molyneux), *Paquuyp* (De Bry), *Paquipa* (Velasco), *Paquype*, now Mattamuskeet Lake, discovered in July 1585 by Grenville's exploring party and roughly indicated on the 1585 sketch-map. *Paquippe*, Professor Geary considers, 'seems to be *päkw-epyä-* [ending lost], "shallow (or "dry") lake", as *Mattamuskeet* appears to be *mātā-mackyä-t-wi* "it is a moving swamp" (or "quaky bog")'.

74. *Pomeiooc* (White 2), *Pomeyooc* (White 1), *Pomeiock* (De Bry), *Pomaioke* (1585 sketch-map), *Pene* (Molyneux), *Pemeoke*, *Pomioke*, *Pomeiok*, *Pomeoc*, *Pomeioock*, *Pomeyóoc*, *Pomeiake*, *Pomeioke*, *Pommeioocke*, an enclosed Carolina Algonkian village, of the Roanoac or, possibly, the Secotan tribe, situated between the present Lake Landing and Wyesocking Bay. (Cp. Mook, "Algonkian ethno-history', p. 214.) Professor Geary says to compare 'Ojibwa (Baraga) *bome* "recover from fear", Algonkin (Cuoq) *pome* "se rassurer", as if "they take refuge" (in a stockaded village), while for *Wyesocking* compare Fox *wayäci-* "directly", "straightaway", *wayätci-* "easily", "successfully" + *axkinki* (locative form) "earth", "land", so that taken in connection with *pōmäwaki* "they take refuge" it might well mean "where they come to land easily", or "good landing-place"'.

75. Secotan (De Bry), *Secotanes*, *Sequotanes*, a Carolina Algonkian tribe, occupying settlements north and south of the Pamlico River. Its precise area of influence is in doubt. Dr Mook's reading of Barlowe ('Algonkian ethno-history', pp. 214–15) led him to assume that the tribe extended to and dominated Roanoke Island, but this is not borne out by the bulk of the evidence (cp. nos. 41, 58, 72, 74, and pp. 100, 111 above). Professor Geary says the word 'seems to be *sīk-ōtani* "town at the bend of a river", contracted from *sīkäyōtäweni*, from *sīkä-* "bend in a river" (Fox) + *ōtäweni* (contracted to *ōtän*, as in Ojibwa)'. It appears that the tribe was named from the town. Professor Geary raises the point that it may have been the practice of the English observers to name the tribes themselves from their principal settlement rather than adopt the indigenous tribal name. They were later the Machapunga Indians (Swanton, *Indian tribes*, p. 81).

76. *Aquascogoc* (White 1 and 2), *Aquscogoc* (De Bry), *Aquascocoki* (Velasco), *Aquacococke*, *Aquascogok*, *Aquascoquos*, a Carolina Algonkian village, most probably of the Secotan tribe, located near the head of the Pungo River estuary, and very likely to have been near Scranton (though Dr Mook would prefer the site of Belhaven ('Algonkian ethno-history', p. 214)). Professor Geary says the word "seems to be **äkwā-ckā-hekw-axki* "where they are made to disembark", or, better, "where a place for disembarking exists" (cp. nos. 69, 70, for comparable nomenclature). The stems involved are *akwā* (changed in the conjunct mode to *äkwā-* "go ashore" + *-ckā-* "foot-movement" + *-h-* "causative instrumental" + *-ekw-* "inverting element" + *-at-* "inanimate copula" which, combining with the conjunctive-mode impersonal ending *-ki*, produces *-axki* which after a *-w-* is here represented by *-oc*. Algonquian *-ck-*

= English *-shk-*, but in various dialects it appears as *-sk-* as here. The difference between Algonquian *a* and *ä* probably went unnoticed.'

77. *Seco* (White 1), *Cotan* (De Bry). It is probable that these represent a single village though whether they are 'fragmentary designations' of the town of Secoton, as Professor Geary suggests, is not certain. *Seco*, however, has a longer history. Miss Helen Wallis has traced *Rio Seco* on Spanish maps to the nomenclature associated with the discoveries of Esteven Gomez (1524–5) and the *padron real* of Alonso de Chaves, 1536 (H. Harrisse, *The discovery of North America*, pp. 241, 635), but the name was normally used for a river much further south (as on the Molyneux globe, 1592). On maps of the American coast compiled by Joan (Giovanni) Martinez (*fl.* 1550–87), however, a *R: secco* appears not far below *b: d Sta maria* (Chesapeake Bay) as well as a *R: seco* much further south, in Florida (map XVI, *Atlántica septentrional*, in his atlas of 1587 now in the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, reproduced in the Duke of Alba (editor), *Mapas Españoles de América, siglos XV–XVII* (Madrid, 1951), pl. 39, fo. 165). Martinez's North American maps were known in England (see E. L. Stevenson, *Portolan atlas of Joan Martines en Messina Añy 1582* (Washington, D.C., 1915)), giving list as 1567, Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 15714, map 5; [1578], Harl. MS. 3456, map 14; 1583, Add. MS. 20753; 1583, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale MS. GeDD 682, map 4). It appears not unlikely that the Spanish chart which Lane had (p. 201 above and also see 1585 sketch-map) was by or after Martinez. The name *Seco* would, therefore, emerge from *Secoton* as a 'confirmation' of the Spanish map. The currency of the name *Seco* in this position is seen, however, from Ortelius's maps of North America from 1570 onwards and he placed *Wigandekoa* in close association with it in his 1587 map (p. 496 above), suggesting that *Seco* was mentioned to him as a name associated with the new English discoveries.

78. *Secoton* (White 1 and 2), *Secota* (De Bry), *Secotan* (1585 sketch-map, Molyneux, Velasco), *Sequoton*, *Secotam*, the chief village of the Secotan tribe, drawn by White (see pp. 420–3 above), the meaning being as no. 75 above. If the sketch-map of 1585 is taken as the best authority, it was near the north bank of the Pamlico River, at, or not far from, the site of Bath, but it is placed by White (and hence located on the map) on the south side, possibly on Durham Creek near the site of Bonnerton. White may have transposed Secoton on the map with another, similarly named, village which lies behind the Seco–Cotan names.

79. *Secotaóc* (White 1), *Sectuock* (De Bry), apparently another village of the Secotan tribe, located near the mouth of the Pamlico River, possibly near the site of Hobucken, though Dr Mook ('Algonkian ethno-history', p. 215) prefers a position on the northern bank of the Bay River. Professor Geary suggests that this is the same name as no. 75, but using a plural noun or a plural verb (indicative mode) from *sīkäyōtäwaki* 'they' (or 'they who') 'dwell at the bend of the river'.

80. Pomouik, *Ponouike*, Indian tribe located by Barlowe between the Pamlico

and Neuse Rivers (p. 113 above). Its linguistic and cultural position is doubtful since it occupied part of the borderland between Algonquian-, Siouan-, and Iroquoian-speaking groups. Dr Mook regards the tribe as 'probably Algonkian' ('Algonkian ethno-history', pp. 218–21).

81. *Panauuaioc* (De Bry), *Panauaioc*, *Pananuaioc*, an Indian village site near the head of the Pamlico River estuary and on its south bank, though, if it was within the Pomouik tribe, its location can only have been learnt from hearsay (cp. *ibid.* p. 218). It has accidentally been printed *Panauuaioa* on the map.

82. *Neus*, the Neuse River, which has retained the name given it in Barlowe.

83. NEUSIOK, *Neiosioke*, Indian tribe located along the southern bank of the Neuse River estuary. As in the case of the Pomouik its cultural and linguistic affiliations are doubtful. Dr Mook classed it as 'possibly Algonkian' but Dr Swanton regards it as perhaps Iroquoian (cp. Mook, 'Algonkian ethno-history', pp. 218–21; Swanton, *Indians*, p. 162, map 1; *Indian tribes*, p. 82). Professor Geary, on linguistic grounds, considers that it was probably Iroquoian.

84. *Newasiwac* (White 1), *Neuusiooc* (De Bry, on one state; *Neruusiooc* on another), *Nesioke* (1585 sketch-map), *Newciook* (Molyneux), Indian village ('a great toune', by hearsay, according to the 1585 sketch-map, p. 215 above) of the Neusiok tribe, or possibly two villages with related names. White placed Newasiwac on the southern bank of the Neuse River estuary somewhere near the present site of Winthrop Mills. Professor Geary regards the name as probably Iroquoian, but *Newasiwac* as an Algonquian plural form, *Näwäsiwaki*, picked up by the English from their Algonquian-speaking informants.

85. *Marasanico* (White 1), an Indian village, located by White on the southern bank of the Neuse River near the modern site of Croatan. Professor Geary considers that the name might be Carolina Algonquian **myāl-a'seni-xkā-wi* 'there are bad rocks', as if referring to dangerous obstructions in the Neuse River. Its tribal affiliations are uncertain. Dr Mook is probably mistaken in trying to locate it on Bogue Sound ('Algonkian ethno-history', p. 218).

86. COREE tribe, not named as such in the narratives, which occupied the northern shores of Core Sound and Bogue Sound. Little is known of the tribe, but Swanton (*Indians*, p. 126, map 1; *Indian tribes*, p. 78) regards it as Iroquoian.

87. *Cwareuuoc* (De Bry), *Cwarcook* (Molyneux), an Indian village, which, from the name, would suggest one belonging to the Coree tribe, situated by White on Bogue Sound some way to the west of Morehead City.

88. *Warreā* (1585 sketch-map), *Waren* (p. 765 above). This is an Indian village not located definitely on any map but the indications are that it was on Bogue Sound (possibly being the unnamed village on White 1 in the vicinity of Mansfield). If it is distinct from no. 87 it is likely to have been another village of the Coree tribe. Professor Geary suggests that while the forms of nos. 86–8 are likely to be Iroquoian there may be an Algonquian word behind one or other of them, possibly *wāthewiwi* 'it is hollow', *wāthewiwaki* 'those of the hollow', *wātheyāwi* 'it is a hollow'.

APPENDIX II

THE LANGUAGE OF THE CAROLINA ALGONKIAN TRIBES

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A. An introductory study of the position of the Indian language of Virginia and North Carolina in the Algonquian family.

B. List of Indian words found in the documents, with notes on their meaning.

A. AN INTRODUCTORY STUDY OF THE POSITION OF THE INDIAN LANGUAGE OF VIRGINIA AND NORTH CAROLINA IN THE ALGONQUIAN FAMILY

The Indian language of which examples were given by the earliest English explorers in this region is commonly designated as 'Powhatan', and is evidently Algonquian. It comprises a number of dialects, although the evidence for distinguishing them clearly is not always adequate. Some forms cited as names of places or persons are hard to explain as Algonquian, but they do not seem to be of Siouan or Iroquoian origin, although groups speaking languages of these two linguistic stocks are known to have lived in this vicinity. Part of the difficulty in explaining the forms as Algonquian arises from the irregularities of English spelling at this period, and from imperfect interpretation of the handwriting of the original authors by their earlier printers and editors. Photographic reproductions of the original manuscripts where they exist would provide a more solid basis for the study of the linguistic forms of the words cited, but many are available only in printed forms or in manuscript copies, while, even when we have what the recorder wrote down, we still have to contend with the possibility of his mis-hearings and mis-writings, not to mention the problems created by our imperfect knowledge of Elizabethan and Jacobean pronunciation.

That the words cited really belong to the Algonquian family is shown by their resemblance to forms found in dictionaries or word-lists of other languages, or discovered to be in actual use at the present time in living languages of that family. To make this plain it is necessary to take a general view of the territory in which Algonquian languages were spoken at the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth centuries, and of the languages of that family still in current use.

The Algonquian languages were once spoken over a large section of north-eastern North America, including nearly all the Great Lakes region and southern Canada, the Maritime Provinces, and the Atlantic coast from Maine to North Carolina. In the present State of New York, on the shores of the St Lawrence, and in Upper Quebec (now southern Ontario) there was an enclave of Iroquoian speech which, at least in some places, according to archaeological evidence, overlay an earlier Algonquian culture. How long before 1535 (when Cartier met Iroquois on the St Lawrence) this enclave may date, is unknown. But there seems to be no doubt that the intrusion of a different culture is to be connected with the displacement of Algonquian groups which had already developed dialectical divergences, which appear in localities that do not lend themselves to a simple geographical scheme.

The principal Algonquian languages actually spoken now are the Cree, Algonkin, Ojibwa, Fox, Potawatomi, Menominee, Shawnee, Miami, Micmac, Abnaki, and the 'divergent' Cheyenne and Arapahoe. We also have vocabularies dating from the seventeenth century for Natick (or Massachusetts), Narragansett, and Quiripiack, which are now extinct. On the living languages primarily, and secondarily on the vocabularies of the extinct languages, we must rely for help in the interpretation of words cited from lesser known languages of the same family, such as Powhatan.

The comparative study of the various Algonquian languages has led to the setting up of the following scheme of sounds for the Primitive-Algonquian language (hereafter designated P.A.):

1. Consonants: *p*, *t*, *k*, *č* (or *tc*), *s*, *š* (or *c*), *þ* [i.e. thorn] (or *θ*), *l*, *m*, *n*, *y*, *w*, and ' (a glottal stop). Of these *l*, *m*, *n* seem to have been voiced, and *y*, *w*, may have been *iy*, *uw* respectively; but all the others were apparently voiceless and lenis. Many observers have recorded *b*, *d*, *g*, in some Algonquian languages, it is true; but the probability is that these recordings have been due to the speech-habits of the observers, and are therefore subjective rather than objective.

2. CONSONANT CLUSTERS COMPOSED OF TWO CONSONANTS, or of one or two consonants plus a semivowel *y*, *w*, were numerous; for a listing of those that are recognizable see Leonard Bloomfield's 'The sound system of Central Algonquian', in *Language*, I, 130 ff., and his article on 'Algonquian' in *Linguistic structures of native America* (Viking Fund Publications in Anthropology, no. 6, New York, 1946), pp. 85 ff.

3. VOWELS: *i* (high front), *e* (low front), *a* (low back), *o* (high back); these may be short or long; *ē* varies to *æ* (in Fox publications *ä*, according to the accepted orthography of the Bureau of American Ethnology, from which some recent writers have departed in favour of the I.P.A. alphabet); formerly it was thought that PA *ē* almost everywhere became *ī*, and no PA *ī* was postulated (the reason being that Menominee had *ē* where the other languages had *ī*); but it appears that Menominee is peculiar in having *ē* in these cases, and Bloomfield's last analysis sets up PA *ī* rather than *ē*, and sets up PA *ē* where Fox (and some other languages) show *ä*; and *o* varies to *u* quite generally. In English spellings of the seventeenth century *ĕ* is often represented by *u*, probably indicating a syncopated vowel, at least in many cases, syncopation being common in Micmac, Abnaki, Potawatomi, and Shawnee, and in a lesser degree elsewhere; but it often indicates a 'thick' Northern English or Scots pronunciation common locally even today.

The chief phonetic divergences from PA seem to have affected the consonants **θ* and **l*, and the consonant-clusters containing a nasal.

Some Algonquian dialects kept **θ* and **l* apart. Thus:

(1) Certain dialects of Arapahoe (one of the 'divergent' western languages) kept **θ* and **l* unchanged.

(2) Plains Cree (as in Lacombe's *Dictionnaire de la langue crise* [with grammar], Montreal, 1874), where **θ* is represented by *t*, and **l* by *y*.

(3) Northern or Woods Cree (as in Joseph Howse, *A grammar of the Cree language* [with comparison of Ojibwa], London, 1844), where **θ* is represented by *t* and **l* by *th*.

(4) Montagnais, an eastern Quebec dialect of Cree, where **θ* is represented by *t*, and **l* by *l*.

(5) Powhatan, where **θ* is represented by *t*, and **l* by *r*; in which points Powhatan agreed with Tête-de-Boule of northern Quebec (on which see John M. Cooper in *International Journal of American Linguistics*, XI (Jan. 1945), 36–44; in the case of Quiripiac, of south-eastern Connecticut, we find the variants Quilipiac and Quinipiac, and the sound

thus variously represented is not certain; that there was an *r*-dialect in Maine and New Hampshire is shown by such river names as *Merrimac*, *Androscoggin*, *Aroostook*, and the adjacent parts of southern Quebec show names like *Rimouski*, *Memphremagog* which likewise are evidence of an *r*-dialect in that region.

In other Algonquian dialects PA **θ* and **l* fell together and were variously represented:

(1) Both appear as *l* in Delaware, Shawnee, Peoria, Miami, Micmac, Abnaki and Nipmuck (in Massachusetts).

(2) Among the 'divergent' western languages, Cheyenne, Blackfoot, and one dialect of Arapahoe have *t* for both (though some dialects of Arapahoe keep them unchanged, as stated above).

(3) Fox, Menominee, Ojibwa, Algonkin, Potawatomi, and also Natick-Narragansett (in New England), have *n* for both **θ* and **l*, and so in these dialects **θ*, **l*, and **n* fell together as *n* (but with a different phonetic treatment before high-front vowels in the case of *n* from **θ*, and analogically in the case of *n* from **l* in some instances); some evidence occurs in Maryland and the vicinity for the existence of an *n*-dialect here also.

The old opinion of Lahontan and others that an 'older Algonquian' had *r*, and that this sound later changed into *l*, is now discarded. The fact seems to be that it was always a matter of different bands of Indians speaking different dialects living in proximity to each other in the places under discussion.

The usage of the dialects in the representation of PA **θ* and **l* has been found useful for the distinction of these dialects, and so it has become usual to refer to *t*-dialects, *l*-dialects, *r*-dialects, and *n*-dialects. Of course, there is some ambiguity here, as *t*, *l*, and *r* do not always refer to the same PA sound. To be exact we should speak of *θ-l*, *t-y*, *t-th*, *t-l*, and *t-r* dialects (thus distinguishing the *t*-dialects), as well as *t-t* and *l-l* dialects; and for the sake of uniformity the *n*-dialects should be called *n-n*-dialects.

The Algonquian dialects differed also in the treatment of consonant-clusters beginning with a nasal, **nt*, **nk*, **mp* and others:

(1) The nasal was preserved in these clusters in Ojibwa, Algonkin, Ottawa, Delaware, Miami, Peoria, and apparently in Powhatan.

(2) The nasal was dropped in Fox, Potawatomi, Shawnee, Sauk, Kickapu, Natick-Narragansett, Abnaki, Passamaquoddy, Micmac, Malecite, and the dialect of Lake Simon and Lake Abitibi in western

Quebec (see *Report of the Committee on Research of the American Philosophical Society* (Philadelphia, 1937), pp. 130–1, giving the observations of the present writer).

(3) The nasal was represented by *h* before the second element of the cluster in Cree, Menominee, Montagnais (and perhaps elsewhere).

It should be noted, in this connexion, that some dialects developed a nasal-stop cluster after a long vowel (especially after *ā*, perhaps only after *ā*), e.g. Natick and Abnaki of the Eastern Group of Algonquian (cf. the present writer in *Language*, XXI (1945), pp. 40–1).

The examination of the Indian words cited by the earliest writers (in English) on this region will justify the statements made above as to the Algonquian dialect used in this area.

Thomas Hariot's *Briefe and true report* (pp. 241–387 above) contains 33 Indian words (excluding place- and personal-names); some others are found in other writers of the period; but the largest additions to our knowledge of the Algonquian language of Virginia come from the works of Captain John Smith and especially from William Strachey's *Historie of travell into Virginia Britania* which contains a vocabulary of some 800 Indian words. Many of these words can be explained on the basis of comparable words known in other Algonquian languages, and from the phonetic equations thus deducible we may draw conclusions as to the relative position of the Virginian or 'Powhatan' language in the Algonquian family.[1]

For an example, we find in Hariot *chappacor* 'a small root so-called' (which yields a red dye); this is plainly an inanimate plural noun which would be in PA **utcyäpihkali* 'roots'; the singular would be **utcyäpihki* which is found in Fox *utcäpihki*, Ojibwa-Algonkin *otcīpihk*, Cree *otcepihk*, Menominee *utsīpeh*, Natick *wadchaubuk*, and Powhatan (Strachey) *utchappoc*, all meaning 'a root'; the plural ending **-ali* appears in Fox, Ojibwa-Algonkin, as *-an*, but in Cree it appears as *-kwa* (since *-kwayi* would normally lose *-yi*), which argues for a form **utcyäpihkwi* in the singular and so a plural form **utcyäpihkwali* (which has been supposed to have become **utcyäpihkōli* in PA time, with *wa* restored by analogy later, as in Cree); Hariot's form *chappacor*, dating from 1588, seems to support the view that interconsonantal **wa* became *ō* at an early date, and that Cree *wa* was a restoration (by analogy of parallel forms), and

[1] Cp. my study 'Strachey's vocabulary of Indian words used in Virginia, 1612', in William Strachey, *The historie of travell into Virginia Britania*, ed. Louis B. Wright and Virginia Freund (Hakluyt Society, 1953), pp. 208–14.

Fox, which is very conservative as to vowels, also shows *-ōni* in similar cases; hence this form given by Hariot seems to be important for the chronology of sound-changes in Algonquian. It also shows (i) apheresis of the initial vowel; (ii) post-consonantal **-yä-* represented by *-a-*, as also an unaccented *-i-*; (iii) **l* represented by *r*; (iv) the omission of the final vowel, as universally in polysyllabic words outside of Fox, Shawnee, Peoria. Other words given by Hariot which appear to be plurals of inanimate nouns are *wasewowr* 'the seed of a herb so-called' (used for a red dye); *pagatowr* 'a kind of grain, called maize in the West Indies'; *okingíer* 'beans'; *wickonzowr* 'peas'; *macócqwer* 'what we call pumpkins, melons, and gourds'; and a group of words indicating fruits or berries 'like the acorn' which all end in *-mener* (from PA **-minali*); all these show Powhatan *r* from PA **l*, although it is hard or impossible to explain their prior portion.

For further examples of *r* in Powhatan from PA **l* we may cite some forms from Strachey: *peintiker* 'to come in' [rather = imper. 2 sg., 'come in!'], from PA **pēntwikälu* 'come into the dwelling!' as in Fox *pītikän*ᵉ; *racawh* 'sand', from PA **läkawi*, as in Delaware *lekau*, Shawnee *lēkawi*, Cree *yekaw*, Fox *näkawi*, Ojibwa-Algonkin *nekaw*; *neir* 'I', from PA **nēla*, as in Miami *nila*, Cree *nīya*, Fox *nīna*, Ojibwa-Algonkin *nīn*, Natick-Narragansett *neen*; *keir*, *quire* 'thou', from PA **kēla*, as in Miami *kila*, Cree *kīya*, Fox *kīna*, Ojibwa-Algonkin *kīn*, Natick-Narragansett *keen*.

To discover how PA **θ* was represented in Powhatan, we may cite the word for 'dog' given by Strachey as *attemous*, *attomois*, from PA *aθemōhsa*, diminutive of **aθemwa*, found in most of the languages of the family with or without various diminutive endings, as in Cree *atim*, Delaware *allum*, Nipmuck (in Massachusetts) *alum*, Abnaki *alemoss* (but in Rasle's dictionary, *c.* 1700, spelt *arem8s*), Micmac *ulumooch* (cf. the Fox ritual form *anemuhtesa*), Malecite *ulamus*, *allomoos*, Miami *alämwa*, Narragansett *ayim*, Quiripiack *arum*, Fox-Kickapu *anemwa*, Menominee-Ojibwa-Algonkin *anim*, Natick-Coweset *anum*, Cheyenne *otam* (the other 'divergent' western languages having forms with *θ* or *t*).

Another example is the word for 'star', from PA **aθānkwa*, given by Strachey as *attaanqwassuwk* (plural of a diminutive) parallel with Cree *atak* (*-wok* pl.), = *atāhk*(*wok*), Shawnee *alāgwa*, Peoria *alangwa*, Delaware *allanque*, Abnaki *alakws* (dim.), Fox *anākwa*, Ojibwa *anāng* (*ōg*), Algonkin *anangōc* (*-ak*) dim. The Powhatan form attests the preservation of the nasal cluster **nk*.

From these examples, and a few others that might be cited, it appears that in Powhatan PA **θ* was represented by *t*. Hence we may call Powhatan a *t-r*-dialect.

However, there must have been more than one dialect spoken in this region, as shown by the variants *Tappahannock* and *Rappahannock*. The former is the name of a well-known river in the present State of Virginia as found on Captain John Smith's map of 1612, and also of another river on the eastern shore of Chesapeake Bay, and it is at present the name of a town on the south bank of the Virginia River, in Essex Co., Va. But the Virginia River itself is traditionally called the *Rappahannock*. The apparent etymology indicates an initial **θ*; viz. **θāp-ahan-a?ki* [the *?* indicates the impossibility of deciding just what the sound was] 'where the current flows back again', indicating a tidal estuary where the ebb and flow of the tide was evident, a description plainly justified by the topography. The word seems to be composed of **θāpi* 'back again as before' (as in Cree *tāpi-*, Delaware *lap-*, Fox-Ojibwa-Algonkin *nāp-*, Natick *nompe*) plus **-ahan-* 'alternate movement, as of swinging, walking, paddling, pounding, lapping of waves' (found generally in the various languages and frequently used in river-names), plus an inanimate copula 'it is' which is unclear (either **-at-* or **-an-*; which in the conjunctive mode would combine with the 3 sg. inanimate ending **-ki* to produce **-axki* or **-anki*, whence Powhatan *-ask* or *-ank*; evidently we are dealing with a different dialect!). Another point to consider, in regard to the final syllable *-ock*, is that the people dwelling on a certain river were normally designated by a term formed from the river-name plus a plural animate ending *-ak*; hence there may have been a mixture or contamination of the river-name (with an ending representing **-axki* or **-anki*) with this plural animate ending **-aki*, with the possibility of a haplological reduction, and that in the end the name of the people persisted as *-ock*. But still the initial *R-* of the form that has come down to us as the name of the river, must be due to the presence in the vicinity of a dialect that represented PA **θ* by *r* (cf. the Quiripiack, and Rasle's Abnaki, and the river-names of Maine, New Hampshire, and southern Quebec).

Another dialect seems to be indicated by Strachey's *outacan* 'a dish', from PA **ulākani*. Here **l* seems to be represented by *t* as in the 'divergent' western dialects, e.g. Cheyenne. However, we must reckon with the possibility that here an *r* of the manuscript was misread as *t* by the editor.

A further dialectal variation may be indicated by Strachey's *ancagwins* 'a pot', for which one might read *anoagwins* as a diminutive from PA **ulākani*. This might show *n* for PA **l*, and indicate the presence of an *n*-dialect in Virginia. The *oa*, if this reading is correct, would be due to the tendency of Algonquian *ā* toward English *aw* as in *law*, which is noted everywhere. But then the *gw* would have to be explained as a contamination with **axkihkwa* 'kettle; drum'; and by reading *aucagwins* (with *u* for *n*) the word might be a diminutive of **axkihkwa*, which would require Powhatan *ask*..., unless another dialect is supposed to have been present. In any case, the difficulty experienced in interpreting Strachey's forms is evident.

But notwithstanding the difficulty of understanding the phonetic value of Strachey's spellings, there are some clear cases of agreement between his forms and similar words in the better known languages of the Algonquian family. Some examples follow:

(1) *cuppotaw* 'deaf' [='he is deaf'], from PA **kepe' tawe* 'he has his ear closed'; cf. (with reduplication implying both ears) Fox *kekyäpece* (with final element **-cä* in place of **-' tawä*, but with the same meaning), Ojibwa *kakīpice*, Algonkin *kakīpice*, *-te*, Cree *kâkepihtew*, Abnaki *kagapsa*, Delaware *n-gagepchoa* 'I am deaf' (also Narragansett *n-cupsa*).

(2) *meqwanoc* 'a long feather' ['long feathers'], a plural animate noun, from PA ***mēkwanaki*, **mēkōnaki*, singular ***mēkwana*, **mēkōna*, as in Fox *mīkōna*, pl. *-aki*, Ojibwa-Algonkin-Cree *mīkwan*, *-ak*, Menominee *mēkun*, *-ak*, Delaware *migun*, *miguin*, *-uk*, Natick *mekun*, *mequen*, Abnaki *miguen*, Shawnee *mīkona*, *-aki*. All the sounds of this word are remarkably stable throughout the whole family except in the 'divergent' western dialects, among which Cheyenne shows *mēn* for the singular. The occurrence of spellings with *-kw-* or *-qu-*, *-gu-*, in so many of the forms cited seems to show that the change of interconsonantal *-wa-* to *-ō-* was not complete in PA times, but was completed (or even began?) in the lifetime of the separate dialects.

(3) *muskiendguk* 'the eye' ['an eye'], from PA **meckēncekwi* 'someone's eye' (the indefinite form of a noun which is naturally possessed, as an 'eye' must logically belong to someone), as in Fox *meckīcekwi*, Cree *miskijik*, Ojibwa-Algonkin *-shkinjig*, *-ōn* (pl.), Natick *muskēsuk*, *-kquash* (pl.), etc., with a total of 18 parallel forms. Strachey's *muskiendues* 'the eyes' must be a miswriting or a misinterpretation of *muskiendgukes*, and the final *s* must similarly be for *r*, the usual inanimate plural ending, as shown above. But if *s* is correct, it

resembles the Natick inanimate plural in *-sh*, which is otherwise not found here as representing PA **-li*.

(4) *nepaum* 'to sleep' [='act of sleeping, or sleeping-place'] from PA **nepäweni*, as in Cree *nipewin*, Ojibwa-Algonkin *nipewin* 'sleeping-place, camp (in the woods)'. Strachey's *nuppawē* [*sic!*] 'sleep' seems to be the same word, if the makron is for *n*.

(5) *nows* 'a father' [='my father'], from PA **nōhθa*, as in Fox *nōsa*, Ojibwa-Algonkin *nōss*, *nōs*, Shawnee *nōθa* (where *θ* usually represents *s*), Cree *nōhta-wiya*, Menominee *nōhne*, Delaware *nōch*, Mohican *nogh*, Natick *noosh*, Micmac *nooch*.

(6) *ouhpunnawk* 'a ground-nut' [=an animate plural noun], from PA **ohpenyäki* (singular **ohpenya*); the plural appears in Fox *ahpenyäki*, Ojibwa-Algonkin *ohpinīk*, and the singular in Delaware *hobbenis* (diminutive), all meaning some sort of tuber. The Powhatan form indicates that post-consonantal *y* was lost (as do other forms), but that post-consonantal *-ya-* did not become *-yä-* (with further changes) as it did in Fox, Ojibwa, Algonkin, Menominee, and Cree, unless *-awk* is really *-auk* (=*-ak*), representing **äk* regularly.

(7) *punguy*, *pungwe* 'ashes', from PA **penkwi*, as in Fox *pekwi*. Ojibwa-Algonkin *pingw-*, Delaware *punk*, Abnaki *pegui*, Natick *pukque*, Cree *pihk-*.

(8) *shekijn* 'to piss', from PA **cekiweni*, as in Fox *cekiweni*, Ojibwa-Algonkin *cikiwin*, Cree *sikiwin*, all these meaning 'actio mingendi'. Strachey's *ij* seems to indicate ī (=English *ee*), here resulting from the contraction of *iwe* to ī, which is common in Fox and the other Central Algonquian languages.

(9) *tapacoh* 'night', from PA **tepexkwiwi* 'it is dark, night', as in Fox *tepehkwiwi* (which regularly contracts to *tepehkowi*), and without the verbal formation PA **tepexkwi*, as in Ojibwa-Algonkin *tibik*, Cree *tibisk*, Menominee *tipähk-*, Abnaki *tebokw*, Micmac *depk-ek* (either locative or a conjunctive mode form), Delaware *tpoku* 'last night', Cheyenne (divergent!) *tahi*.

(10) *tchiimaoc* 'to row' [='they row'], from PA **tcīmäwaki*, as in Fox-Ojibwa-Algonkin-Cree *tcīmäwak* (differences of spelling disregarded), Natick-Narragansett *chemaog* (pl.), *chemosh* (impv. 2 sg.).

(11) *uhpoocan* 'a tobacco-pipe', from PA **uxpwākani*, as in Fox *uhpwākani*, Cree *aspwākan*.

As for the manner of forming compounds little can be learned from Hariot's and Strachey's citations except for a small group of nouns

consisting of *-mener* (from PA **-minali*) meaning 'fruits, berries, nuts', or *-menauk* (from PA **mīnaki*, an animate parallel form) with a descriptive prefix, sometimes impossible to explain etymologically, although the word-composition is quite clear: e.g. Hariot's *osamener*, mentioned in a list of 'fruits or berries like the acorn', is evidently **osāwi-minali* 'yellow-berries, fruits', and his *mangummenauk* is evidently **mankwimīnaki* 'big berries', but he gives no details, and the usage of the other languages varies in the naming of such fruits.

As to more complicated compounds involving stems with verbal force, with or without a stem with substantival force, the orthography makes it difficult to do more than guess at their etymology and meaning: e.g. *mbococotamen* 'to make a hole' is probably meant for *ni-boc-aca-t-amen* 'we make a hole in the ground', from **ne-pōhk-axkyä-t-āmena*, where *ne-...āmena* = 'we...it', *pōhk-* = 'pierce', *-axkyä-* = 'earth, ground' (as a combining-form, substantival, and objective), and *-t-* is an instrumental particle indicating action on an inanimate object (*-ā-*). It may be noted that if this is really a 1 pl. form, the termination *-men* resembles Ojibwa rather than Fox (which has *-pena*). This single example may suffice to show that the Powhatan dialect had the same manner of compounding words as appears in the better known dialects of the family. The name *Powhatan* itself is easily analysed: it is really the name of the place where the chief dwelt, situated at the falls of the James River; this topographical detail is the key to the meaning, which is simply 'falls in a stream', from PA **pāw-e' tanwi*, where *pāwi* = 'shake, drop', and the second component is *-e' tan-* = 'current, flow'.

Although the study of Powhatan must necessarily be fragmentary, yet it can be stated without doubt that there is evidence at hand that in the Algonquian speech of this region more than one dialect was present. The principal characteristics of Powhatan may be summarized thus:

(1) PA **l* was regularly represented by *r*; in the case of *outacan* 'a dish', from PA **ulākani* presumably, **l* appears to be replaced by *t*.

(2) PA **θ* was clearly represented by *t* usually, but in the case of *Rappahannock* **θ* was clearly represented by *r*, and the dialectal variation is emphasized by the retention of the parallel form *Tappahannock*.

(3) PA **l* may possibly have been represented by *n* in *ancagwins* 'a pot', for the discussion of which see above. At present this remains doubtful.

(4) PA **nk* appears as *nk* in several cases, e.g. *attaanqwassuwk* 'stars'; **mp* as *mb* in *weimb* 'marrow of a bone'; **ntc* as *ndg* in *-mindg*, the final

portion of names of trees, as in Ojibwa *-mindj*, Fox *-mici*. But two compounds occur, meaning 'north' and 'east', beginning with *utch-* from PA **untci-* 'thence' which lack the nasal, as if there were another dialect present which dropped the nasal in these consonant-clusters, as did Fox-Potawatomi-Natick.

The ways in which Powhatan agrees with other dialects of the Algonquian family may be summarized as follows:

(i) In item (1) above, Powhatan resembles Tête-de-Boule of northern Quebec, Quiripiack of south-eastern Connecticut, the 'Old-Abnaki' of Rasle and the dialect of Maine-New Hampshire-southern Quebec as shown by topographical names. It is differentiated from Delaware, Shawnee, Miami, Peoria, Nipmuck, Montagnais (of eastern Quebec), and from all the *n*-dialects. If *t* from **l* is real, the resemblance would be to some 'divergent' western dialects, and it would seem to be an archaic trait (unless the separation of the 'divergent' dialects was comparatively recent, in which case their phonetic changes must have been rapidly accomplished).

(ii) In item (2) Powhatan resembles Cree dialects generally, and some of the 'divergent' western dialects, e.g. Cheyenne and most of the Arapahoe dialects.

(iii) If item (3) is real (and this condition was actually realized in the neighbouring area of Maryland), *n* from **l* would make a certain dialect of Virginia resemble Natick-Narragansett of New England, and Algonkin-Ojibwa-Ottawa-Potawatomi-Fox-Sauk-Kickapu-Menominee of the Great Lakes region.

(iv) The preservation of nasal-clusters would make Powhatan resemble Delaware-Miami-Ottawa-Ojibwa-Algonkin, and differentiate it from the New England languages (Natick-Narragansett-Abnaki-Micmac) and from Fox-Sauk-Kickapu-Potawatomi-Shawnee.

These resemblances and differences raise interesting questions as to the historical relations of these various groups of Algonquian-speaking Indians; the enclave of the Iroquois in New York State (whether it came from an invasion from the south-west or from the north-east) seems to have been a potent factor in the distribution (or dislocation) of Algonkian groups; perhaps redistribution would convey my idea better. The study of Algonquian is yet young, and it is to be hoped that archaeological investigations will throw some light on the chronological sequence of cultures in the Algonkian area.

B. LIST OF INDIAN WORDS FOUND IN THE DOCUMENTS, WITH NOTES ON THEIR MEANING

[Professor Geary has, in his discussion above, given a clear and expert definition of what the linguists call the Powhatan language of the Algonquian group. To the historian of the Roanoke voyages part of the interest in the linguistic material arises because of Hariot's activities in regard to it (pp. 370–1, 389). But there is also a geographical factor. The early seventeenth-century observers were active inside the Powhatan confederacy in modern Virginia: Hariot, White and Lane were working (except for a very limited time) south of the present North Carolina state line. This line represented something of a physical (swamp) and a political barrier. Therefore the cultural and linguistic picture south of that line may well have shown minor but significant differences from that to the north of it, even though there was broad similarity in both fields. It is therefore useful to try to separate off as clearly as possible the cultural and linguistic features of the most southerly group of Carolina Algonkian tribes. Of their language the only remnants, apart from those enshrined in modern place-names, are those preserved by the Roanoke voyages. The older place-names, in all their variant forms, as recorded 1584–90, are given above (pp. 852–72). The personal names and other words are given hereunder. While they all apparently belong to the Powhatan Algonquian language, they have been distinguished as Carolina Algonquian [Car. Alg.] or Virginia Algonquian [Va. Alg.] according as they can be said to derive from south or north of the modern state line—though this mainly affects the place-names. The sources fall into four categories:

1. Hariot's texts (distinguished as 'H').
2. Names found on White's drawings, but probably recorded by Hariot (distinguished as 'W').
3. Other words from the English narratives, mainly Lane's (distinguished as 'N').
4. Words from Spanish sources (distinguished as 'S').

The result is that 82 distinct words have been recovered of those gathered between 1584 and 1590; in addition there are 56 distinct place- or tribal-names (plus 2 doubtful), as well as 19 personal names. All but about 20 of this total of 155–60 words belong to the Algonkian tribes of the Carolina group, and, unless Hariot's detailed word-lists come to light, represent all that is likely to be found. D.B.Q.]

Andacon, Car. Alg. personal name, male (N). Looks like the pl. of 'evergreen', **āntakōli* from **āntakwali*, singular **āntakwi*; the form is that of an *n*-dialect which kept the nasal combinations *nt*, etc. I imagine that the bearer of this name belonged to the 'Thunderers' gens', and that something was lost at the beginning of the word that showed what a meteorological phenomenon (e.g. wind, lightning) does to evergreens.

Arasémec, Car. Alg., fish; Gar-fish (W). The final portion *-émec* represents PA **-amäkwa* 'fish', the kind of fish being denoted by the prior portion of the word, *aras-* which seems to be akin to Cree *ayis-* 'genuine, regular, ordinary', = Oj. *anic-*, Fox *anec-*; the PA form would be **alec-y-amäkwa*. The written

accent, according to my observations of Fox accentuation, seems to represent a high pitch-accent on the antepenult of PA, preceding the falling accent on the PA penult (which becomes the ultima in the historically-attested forms, as here).

Artamóckes, Car. Alg., bird; Blue Jay (W). The consonant-cluster *rt* shows syncopation of *aretemokes*, which seems to represent **āthent-amwi-kä-sa*, composed of **āthenta* 'some (things), certain (things)' + *-amwi-* 'eat' + *-kä-* indicating an indefinite inanimate object (equivalent to making 'eat' an intransitive verb) + *-s-* 'fly, or bird' (the actual ending is lost: I would expect *säwa*, or *-säha*, or at least *-sa*); the whole meaning would be 'bird that flies and eats certain things', referring, I suppose, to the habit of the blue jay of perching on a tree and descending to pick up something on the ground, thereupon returning immediately to its perch on the tree. Note that the bird is named from its manner of feeding, rather than from its remarkable plumage, or its notable cries. If my remark above on the written accent applies here, the ending must have been merely *-sa*. Some of the following words show the accent on the syllable which would (according to the Fox custom) have a high pitch-accent, but many of them have it where there should be a stress-accent.

Asanamáwqueo, Car. Alg., bird, Common Loon (W). Referring first to the written accent, it seems that it represents the high pitch-accent on the syllable preceding the penult (which has a falling accent), and that *-queo* is one syllable *-kwäw*, a clear indication that the *w* of the last syllable was actually heard, as it is in Fox, Cree, and some other languages (cp. the 'Algonquian whistle' mentioned by Prince in his 'Passmaquoddy texts', p. 4 (*Publications of the American Ethnological Society*, x)). The word seems to be from **a'sen-amākwä-wa* 'he of the stony (= hard) head-ornament', from *a'seni-* 'stone, stony' + *amākwä-* (Fox) 'put on (have on) a head-dress'.

Ascopo, Car. Alg., tree; Sweet Bay (H). Probably from *āxkwi-pi-wi*, from *āxkwi-* 'sharp' + *-pi-* 'taste'. The exact meaning of 'sharp' is not clear (from the English point of view) as it may mean 'sweet', 'sour', 'salt', etc. I would call the taste of the magnolias 'sweet'.

Chachâquises, bird: Hairy Woodpecker (W). Fox shows *tcätcäk-* 'cry out' (which could very well be for *tcätcäkwi-* as postconsonantal *-wi-* tends to become *-i-*); + *-isä-* (from PA *-'lä-*), + *-hs-* a diminutive ending, the final grammatical ending being lost, perhaps it was simply *-a*. Hence, apparently, 'small bird that cries out'.

Chaham, fish; Branch Herring or Shad (W). [See alternative name *Wundúnãham*, below; cp. *Ahshaham*, *assahampehooke* 'lobster' (Strachey, *Hist. of travell*, pp. 175, 191).] In all these, *-aham-* = 'proceed, move, swim'. *Chaham* is evidently abbreviated by loss of an initial syllable; one thinks of *ke'tci-* 'great', as if *ke'tc'-ahamwa* 'he is a great swimmer'; or *me'tc'-ahamwa* 'swims in the open (water), or abroad, everywhere'. *Ahshaham* 'lobster' = *acä-* 'backward' + *-ahamwa* 'he swims', a good description of the movements of a lobster! Of course, there is some contraction here, from *acä-h-ahamwa*, to *acä-hamwa*. The form *assahampehooke* 'lobster' seems to be syncopated from *acä-y-apyähamōki* (pl. 'they swim backward in a body of water (bay, etc.)'. Note the nasal after long *ā*, as in the New England dialects, but *a*, not *o*, as there.

Chápacor, plant; roots used for dying red, possibly Dogwood (H). Cp. *vppochappoc* 'roots of the tobacco-plant' (Strachey, *Hist. of travell*, p. 200). *Chapacor* represents PA **utcyäpehkali* (pl.) = 'roots', = Fox *utcyäpehkani*, Ojibwa-Algonkin *odjībihkan*, Cree *otchehihkwa*, Menominee *utsipeh* (singular), Natick *wadchaubuk* (singular), Powhatan (Strachey, p. 200) *vtchappoc* (singular); this form and the Cree form suggest singular *utcyäpekwi*, plural *utcyäpekōli*, which is not strange as *-kwi* tended to become *-ki*. This is one of the best examples of a word that is traceable in practically all of the Algonquian languages. Delaware and Micmac could also be cited.

Cherounes, see *Wiroans*. [Probably *Cherounes* is an apheretized form from *ke'tciwīroans* as *-iwī-* normally contracts to *-ī-*.]

Chigwusso, Car. Alg., a fish; Channel Bass (W). Apparently contains *tchīnkwi-* 'elevate, raise'; the element *-esu-* is a middle or medio-passive element that might refer to a manner of living or feeding.

Chúwheeo, Car. Alg., a bird; Red-eyed Towhee (W), the *Cheewink* from its call. It has a call that could be written both ways. *Towhee* is supposed to represent the same call, but to me it is rather *Cheewink*. The written accent does not correspond with stress, and if it represents a high pitch accent the reference must be to the Algonquian word, not to the bird's note, which is *chèwínk*.

Chúwquaréo, Car. Alg., a bird; Eastern Red-wing (W). Seems onomatopeic; perhaps *tcakw-alä-wa* 'little flame'.

Coppáuseo, Car. Alg., a fish; Sturgeon (W). Cp. *Copotone* 'sturgeon' (Smith, *Works*, p. 45), with a variant *Cuppatoan*. Smith's forms seem to be for *kepwetōn-* 'close-mouthed', from *kepwi-* 'close, shut' +*-etōni* 'mouth'. *Coppauseo* would seem to contain the same first element *kepwi-*, but the remainder suggests nothing but *äsīha* (perhaps originally *äsīwa*) 'shell-fish', and I do not see what the reference would be. If the word could be read *cott-auseo* it would mean 'he swallows shell-fish'. Regardless of the possibility of a misreading of *t* as *p*, there is the chance that *pp* was actually written under the impression that the word contained the same first element as *cuppatoan*, *copotone*.

Coscúshaw, Car. Alg., plant, root used for food, probably Arrow-arum or Golden-club (H). Apparently *kacki-* (*kaski-*) 'close in, surround' +*-ecä-* 'ear, something flat like an ear'. The well-known Jack-in-the-Pulpit is an example of this group of plants, and one sees how it could be described as 'an enclosing ear'.

Cossine, Car. Alg., personal name, male (N). I cannot form an opinion as to the pronunciation intended by this spelling; is it *kosain*, or *kosi·n*, or *kosini·*? I have no idea what the etymology could be.

Crenepos, *-poes*, Car. Alg.; women [with English plural *-s*] (N). Cp. *Crenepo* (Smith, *Works*, p. 44); *Cutssenepo* (Strachey, *Hist. of travell*, p. 206). *Kerenepeu* 'she carries water (water-carrier)' proposed by Mook. This would imply *kere-nīpōwa* in which *kere-* would have to mean 'carry', and *nīpōwi* would have to mean 'water'. Neither form is known to me; a supposed *nīpōwi* 'water' seems to be a mixture of *nepi* 'water', a real form found in many of the languages, and *sīpōwi* 'water, river', a real form found in Fox, Delaware, Abnaki, Micmac, Natick; but such a mixed form is unknown to me, though it can be explained psychologically as a 'contamination'. A stem that would appear

here as *kere-* would be from **kele-* or **kethe-*, but such a stem meaning 'carry' is not known to me. However, there is a stem **kethe-* meaning 'hinder, restrain, forbid', which in an *r*-dialect, as hereabouts, would appear as *kere*. For the final portion of the word cf. *nepōwi-* 'die'. The former stem is justified by Fox, Algonkin *ken-*, *kin-*, Cree *kit-*, the latter stem by Fox, Ojibwa, Algonkin, Cree, Delaware. So the meaning might be 'she who hinders death'—by nursing the sick, or children, or by bearing children. Practically, it would mean 'life-saver'.

Ensenor, -ore, Car. Alg.; personal name, male (N). The consonant-cluster *-ns-* is possible in a dialect that preserved the PA nasal combinations, as there is evidence for PA **ns*; the *r* shows that the word belonged to an *r*-dialect. Further than this, I can make no suggestion.

Eracano, Car. Alg.; personal name, male (N). I can suggest nothing.

Granganimo, -meo, Grangino, Car. Alg.; personal name, male (N). No doubt there is syncopation of *k-r*, and probably of *n-g* (*n-k*); perhaps from *ker-änik-änimo* from **keth-änik-älemowa* 'he restrains from thinking funny, i.e. from ridiculing'. This might be a 'nickname', but it does not seem very convincing. Besides, it involves a new pattern for an *r*-dialect, with *r* for **th* and *n* for **l*. This is theoretically possible, of course, even though it is new (to me, at least).

Guapaçina, Virg. Alg.; understood to mean brass (S.). Cp. Strachey, *Hist. of travell*, p. 178. *qwunnumsc* 'a braser', i.e. 'a brazier', a pan of coals for heating. Taking this word first, it seems to be from **kwen-* 'long' + *-umsc* which according to the New England languages would represent **-āpexkwi* 'something solid, as stone or metal'; this is a remarkable agreement of a Virginia form with a New England form, which shows the mixture of dialects in the Virginia-Carolina region (which seems to be what is called 'marginal'). As to the Spanish form *guapaçina*, it suggests **kwāp-* 'dip up (as water from a spring)', also 'scatter about, pour' (but with an appended stem), + *a'sen-* 'stone; also ore?' + *ā* inanimate copula = 'it is'; so, perhaps, 'it is a stone (or ore?) that is capable of being poured', i.e. 'melted ore'? This certainly suggests 'smelting' but there is nothing that suggests 'brass' or any other metal.

Habascon, Car. Alg.; plant, root used for food, possibly Angelico or Cow-parsnip (H). Cp. *Wassacan* 'spicy-tasting things' (Strachey, *Hist. of travell*, p. 81). Apparently *H-* is an error for *W-*, as in *Herowans* for *Wiroans*. A form *Wapaskon* could be for **wāp-ackōli*, plural of **wāp-ackwi* 'white plant'. Strachey's *Wassacan* (or is it *-cau*?) seems to have *wāsä-* 'bright' as first element, but 'spicy' would be *āxkwi*, which in the plural would be *āxkōli*, which might be heard as *ākōn*, and might be spelt *acan* (for which *acau* would be a misreading?). It is possible that *Wassacan* could be a miswriting of *Wassascan*.

Herowans seems clearly to have *H* as a misreading of *W*.

Iacháwanjes, Car. Alg.; bird, possibly a Vireo (W). For the spelling, cp. *Chachá-quises* 'Hairy Woodpecker' (W); so, perhaps, here *Chachá̱wanches* (the accent seems to indicate stress). It seems to contain what appears in Fox as *tcatcawi-* 'sometimes, at times, from time to time', + **-antc-* 'eat' (= *-a-* + post-verbal extension *-ntc-*), + *-is* (from **-i'lă* 'fly; bird'); as if 'bird that eats from time to time'.

Iawéepuwes, Car. Alg.; bird, Surf Scoter (W). Probably *i-*(*j-*) = ch-, = Algonquian *tc-*. The terminal portion *-uwes* may reflect PA **-owä-* + *-s* which may reflect PA **-i'lä-* 'fly; bird' (as frequently in Algonkin). But *tcäwīp-* seems to be onomatopeic for the cry of the bird: so perhaps 'bird that cries *tcäwīp*'.

Kaiauk, Car. Alg.; bird, possibly Glaucous Gull (W). Cp. Strachey (*Hist. of travell*, p. 187) *coiahqwus* (a diminutive form) and Cree *kiyask*, Ojibwa *kayack*, Algonkin *kaiackwak* (pl.), Miami *kiyahkwa* (sg.), Penobscot *kahk*^{w}, *kahkwis* (diminutive). All these point to PA **kayāçkwa* 'gull'. Note that the Virginia and Carolina forms both have *hk* like Miami and Penobscot, while Cree has *sk* borrowed from Ojibwa or Algonkin. On the other hand *Skicoak* from PA *ackikwaki* 'seals' has *sk* for the same consonant-cluster in what appears to be a Virginia dialect. This discrepancy illustrates the mixture of dialects that seems to have obtained hereabouts.

Kaishúcpenauk, Car. Alg.; a plant, roots used for food, possibly Duck-potato (H). Cp. *openauk* (H), *ouhpunnawk* (Strachey, *Hist. of travell*, p. 186), 'ground-nuts'. This latter is from PA **uxpenya* or **uhpenya* 'ground-nut, tuber', as shown by Fox, Ojibwa, Algonkin, Menominee, Delaware, Penobscot, and this Powhatan; as the Cree form is lacking one cannot distinguish between PA **xp* and *hp*. The ending *-nauk* (for *-nyäki*) shows that *ny* became *n*; the spelling *au* shows that **ä* (= the flat *a* of 'hat') was broadened to the intermediate *a* of 'ask' or the *a* of 'heart', 'part', for which *au* serves in 'laugh' (though this is sometimes pronounced with a flat *a*). This spelling *-nauk*, by the way, discredits Bloomfield's attempt to set up PA *ē* in place of **ä* (Leonard Bloomfield, 'Algonquian', in *Linguistic structures of native America* (Viking Fund Publ. in Anthropology, no. 6, New York, 1946), p. 86). The prefix *kaishu-* may be for *kecawi-* 'loose', which by contraction produces *kecā-* 'gentle'; hence 'loose ground-nuts', meaning, I suppose 'easily dug out', not too closely clustered, perhaps. The consonant-cluster *-cp-* seems to represent 'glottal-stop + *p*', as the second *c* before *t* in *Connecticut*, which is never pronounced, actually represents the glottal-stop in *Kwen-c'tikwatwi*. This suggests that the PA word for 'tuber' was **u'penya* instead of **uxpenya* or **uhpenya*. But the lack of the Cree form prevents any decision.

Keetrauk, Car. Alg.; a fish, Cat-fish (W). Cp. *kiihtoram*, *kijhtoroon* (Strachey, *Hist. of travell*, p. 198) = a pike. Apparently *kee-t-* = PA *kīwi-t-* 'round about' with post-verbal extension *-t-* + **-e'lä-* 'fly; dart' (which in Fox, at least, can apply to fish as well as to birds) + plural ending *-aki*. So, 'they dart around everywhere'. If this is valid, the representation of PA *'l* by *r* is important! The endings *-ram*, *-roon* in Strachey are hard to explain as authentic forms; probably they are misreadings of *-rauk*.

Kewás, *-a*, Car. Alg.; image of a god (H); *Kewasówak*, Car. Alg., plural of *Kewás*. (H). Cp. *okeus* 'god', *oke* 'devil' (Strachey, p. 88, Smith, p. 46); *quiyoukosuck* 'god' (Smith, p. 46). *Kewasa* is no doubt for *kīwāsowa* 'he who goes about glowing (= giving both heat and light)', referring to both the sun and the moon. The accents given by Hariot are pitch-accents not stress-accents. Smith's *quiyoukosuck* seems to be a plural, although the English plural ending *-es* was added to it; it seems to be for *kwayaxkwesaki* 'those who are upright, honest', in other words 'the just, or righteous'.

Kokohochepúweo, Car. Alg.; fish, Lamprey (W). The second portion *-ckepuweo* evidently represents *-kīhpuwawa* 'he eats his fill'; the first portion seems to be for *kahki-* 'hide' (Fox) + *-aho-* 'proceed by effort'. This formation would describe the way a sea-lamprey attaches itself to a fish and burrows into it as it devours it.

Kowabetteo, Car. Alg.; fish, Gar-fish (W). Seems to be from *kāw-āpitāwa* 'he has rough teeth'.

Machicómuck, Car. Alg.; temple where images of gods are kept (H). The word is plainly singular; the second portion is doubtless PA **axkamikwi* 'earth, ground, site'; it is to be noted that **xk* is here represented by *c* (= *k*), not by *sk*. The first part, *machi-*, looks like *matchi-* 'bad', 'worthless', but that would be absurd if the overall meaning is correctly given. Rather it is from *mā-tci-* from *mā-* 'move', which is reduplicated in Fox *mamāt-u-m-* 'beseech, request, pray someone to . . .'; in Ojibwa *mamānd-* = 'wonderful, miraculous', *mamāndji-* refers to 'magic, witchcraft', *mamāna-* also refers to 'Indian jugglery' [these forms from Baraga]. So apparently *mātci-* refers to the performance of religious rites associated with prayer, with an implication of preternatural effects (which we call magic). 'Place of supplication' (with the implications noted above) seems to be the meaning. The spelling *ma*, not *mau* nor *mo*, is noteworthy.

Macócqwer, Car. Alg.; general term for pumpkins and gourds (H). *Macocqwer* is apparently related to Fox *mahkahkwi*, pl. *mahkahkōni*, 'box, barrel, etc., = container', with parallel forms in Ojibwa, and Cree. The *-er* may be a misreading of *-or* (as in *chapacor* 'roots'). As gourds were actually used as containers, this seems satisfactory.

Mamankanois, Car. Alg.; a butterfly, Tiger Swallow-tail (W). Cp. Strachey *manaang-guas* 'a butterfly'. It is hard to evaluate Strachey's form; is it just one form? This seems most likely; but his form is not the same as White's unless somehow *-ano-* was omitted in the interpretation. Apart from this, his form is parallel with White's.

The final *-is* may represent the stem **-i'lă-* 'fly', which appears in Fox, Ojibwa, Algonkin, as *-isă-*; but I have no assurance that **'l* appears as *s* in the dialects of this region, though it is suggested in several cases above. (One must think also of English plural *s*.) Note also *nk* which appears in some words, indicating a particular dialect hereabouts. As it stands, *mamank-* would be a reduplication of *mank(w)-* 'big', which is justified by the better-known Algonquian languages to the north. *Ano-* = 'hole, opening, mouth'; *anwi* 'dart' could produce *ano-*, and might refer to the antennae or the mouth-parts of a moth-like insect. However, the appearance of having holes in the wings would (semantically) be sufficient justification for such a description. The probable meaning is 'flying-creature with many big holes (in the wings)'.

Manchauemec, Car. Alg.; a fish, probably Common Croaker (W). The terminal portion is doubtless PA **-amakw-* 'fish'. The prior portion of the word seems to be *mantcyawi-*, for which compare Ojibwa (reduplicated) *mamāndji-*, *mamāndawi-*, 'wonderful' (as if *(ma)mānicyawi* came from a contamination of these two forms), thus 'wonderful fish', possibly referring to the ease with which it could be caught. Note the retention of *n* in consonant combination, and the spelling *ma* for Algonquian *mā*, not *mo*.

Mangúmmenauk, Car. Alg.; acorn, probably of Live Oak (H). From ⋆*mankwi-mīnaki* 'big nuts (fruits, berries)'; *-wi-* between consonants becomes *-u-* almost everywhere. Note preservation of *-nk-* (spelt *-ng-*), as in Delaware, Ojibwa, Algonkin and elsewhere, as indicating a local dialect.

Manteo, -tio, Car. Alg.; man's name (N). Perhaps syncopated from ⋆*manetīwa* 'he snatches from another', 'snatcher'; perhaps an epithet of a bird, e.g. a hawk or eagle, with reference to the gens to which he belonged.

Maquówoc, Car. Alg.; animal, possibly Muskrat or Mink (H). Perhaps from ⋆*mōhkw-āwank-* 'burrow-in-the-ground' (as the mink does). Strachey's *mouhwacus* 'marten' could have *h* as a misreading of *k*; *ācus* could be a contraction of *-āwank* to *āc* + the diminutive ending *-ehsa* which appears as *us*. The literal meaning of *mōhkwi-* is 'cut, carve'; but 'burrow' does not seem too far-fetched. (This dialect did not keep *nk*.)

Marangahockes, Car. Alg.; fish, Mud-fish (W). Seems to contain ⋆*myāl-* 'bad' or 'sort of a...' (cp. Ojibwa *mānamāk*^{wa} 'catfish'), but the exact meaning I cannot guess, perhaps *ang* = *āwank* 'earth, ground, soil' (contracted); *aho* could mean 'locomotion, especially in water'; *cke* may be *-hkä-* 'activity without a direct object'; *-s* can be the diminutive suffix, or, more likely, may be the stem ⋆*-i'lä-* 'dart, go by quick motion'. One could make out from these elements a description of a fish that burrows in the mud. The first stem should mean 'burrow' or something like it, according to the manner of formation of Algonquian compounds, but I cannot find anything but Ojibwa *mōn-aho-* 'dig' that suits this desired meaning. If *Mar-* can be for ⋆*mōn-*, or rather for ⋆*mōl-* or ⋆*mōth-*, 'dig', that might be the solution. But I can find no evidence that Ojibwa *mōn-* comes from *mōl-* or *mōth-*: both Cree and Micmac have *mōn-* for 'dig', indicating PA ⋆*mōn-*. If *mon-* had been the original manuscript reading, which we have not got, this would be decisive in favour of this etymology; all but the first stem seems satisfactory.

Maraseequo, Car. Alg.; bird, Red-headed Woodpecker (W). Possibly from ⋆*myālaw-* 'overpower, get the better of', + post-verbal extension *-(e)s-*, + *-ehkwä-* 'head, head-movement, pecking', = 'he gets his food by pecking'. As *ä* is usually represented by *a* or *au*, perhaps the final *-o* is due to a following *w*, as if the original was ⋆*myālā-s-ehkwäwa*. I have some confidence that this may be correct.

Masunnehockeo, Car. Alg.; a fish, Sheepshead (W). Seems to be from ⋆*masini-hu-hkä-wa* or *-ckäwa*, 'he is ornamented, decorated, on his body'. *Masini-* 'figure, ornament, decoration' is found in Ojibwa, and Cree; *-hu-* is a middle, reflexive, element, indicating action on oneself and connoting 'painting oneself' but also passive 'being painted, decorated, fixed up (as for a ceremony)'; as to *-hkä-* I suspect a misreading of *-cke-* for an original *-ske-* which would represent (archaically, it is true) PA ⋆*ckä-wa* where *-ckä-* would indicate 'on the body'.

Meemz, Car. Alg.; bird, possibly Blue-grey Gnat-catcher (W). Cf. Strachey's *meihteams* (p. 184) waterfowl of the size of a duck 'with a Copit crowne [= crested?]'. I cannot reconcile *meihteams* with *meemz*. Cp. Fox *mīmīwa* 'pigeon', and Ojibwa *mīmīsiwag* 'mayflies'. *Meemz* would seem to be for *mīmis*^{a}, and I suspect that *mīmi-* is onomatopeic + *-isa* 'flying creature'.

Meesquouns, Car. Alg.; bird, Cardinal (W). Cp. *maskowhinge*, *massacamwindg* 'parrot' (Strachey, *Hist. of travell*, pp. 192, 197). Probably from ⋆*mīckaw-*

(contracted to *mīckō-*) 'strong' + **uns-* 'from a distance, thence' + *-u-* 'make a sound, give voice, speak', and so *mīckō-unsuwa* 'he calls loudly from a distance', which certainly would describe the cardinal (which is common hereabouts). Strachey's form seems to contain *mäckaw-* of identical meaning 'strong', found in Cree, Ojibwa, Algonkin, but the latter part *-indge* I cannot account for except on the supposition that it is meant for *-uns* heard as *unsh*. It is interesting to find *mīckaw-* in a Carolina form, and *mackaw-* in a Virginia form, the former being found in Fox. This is the first clear case of a divergence that I have noticed.

Memélkson, Car. Alg.; Skink (W). A consonant-cluster *lks* is foreign to Algonquian, and must be due to contraction; hence we must start from *memel-k-son*. This looks like a reduplication of **melwi-* 'good, pleasant, suitable' (which can become *meli-*) + *-hkā-su* 'pretend, fix oneself up (in a certain form or appearance)'; but the final *-n* is hard to explain; could it be for *-w*? (the remains of the animate ending of a noun [identical with the 3rd singular ending of a verb] *-wa*). If so, the meaning would be 'he conceals himself very well'. The elision of the long vowel *ā* is a difficulty, as well as the final *n*. The occurrence of *l* is also noteworthy, as it indicates an *l*-dialect.

Memeo, Car. Alg.; bird, Southern Pileated Woodpecker (W). Seems to be the same word as Fox *mīmīwa* 'pigeon'. Fox *mämäwa* 'red-headed woodpecker' would be spelled differently in English, perhaps *mamao*. Cf. *meemz* above. The Indian names for birds and fishes were differently applied by various groups of Indians; there are numerous examples of this.

Menatoan, Car. Alg.; man's name (N). Looks like **mīnaw-ehtaw-ān* 'he listens attentively to him (it)', from **mīnawi-* 'carefully' + *-ehtaw-* 'listen to animate object'. The final *-n* I cannot explain (as in several cases above). The name has, no doubt, reference to a totem, some animal; it is useless to speculate which.

Menatonon, Car. Alg.; man's name (N). Much like the preceding, but includes an additional element, i.e. *mīnaw-ehtaw-enaw-* 'he listens carefully to someone (something) which he sees'; here *-enaw-* adds the meaning 'see' to the preceding name. Both of these might refer to the actions of a wolf, and a 'wolf-gens' is common among the Algonkians.

Mesickek, Car. Alg.; fish, Striped Bass (W). Apparently **mese-* or **meci-* 'big' + what appears in Ojibwa and Algonkin as *kīgō-* 'fish'; and so 'big fish'.

Metaquesunnauk, *Mut-*, Car. Alg.; Prickly Pear (H). It appears to be *me'tāhkwa'senyäki* 'bare rocks, bare surface of rock', though I am not very well satisfied with this as the name of a fruit; however, it would suggest the manner of growth of the plant. A better suggestion might be *mä'tāhkwi-senyä-ki* because of the syllable *-que-*, and because *au* regularly represents Algonqian *ä* in English spellings. This would mean 'what is eaten bare (what they eat bare)', i.e. without cooking, and without condiment. The stem *-senyä-* 'eat' is well known in the better known languages.

Minsal, Car. Alg.; small beads of smooth bone (or shell) (N). As an initial stem (i.e. taking first place in a word, or capable of taking first place in a compound word), *mīn-* 'berry, nut, etc., round object' seems to occur, but would this be spelt *min-* by an English-speaker? *Min-*, with the same meaning, occurs in the latter part of a compound after an initial stem; but this difference

may not have been grasped, and *min-* may have been written by an Englishman in place of *meen-* in the initial place in a word. So, supposing *min-* to be for *mīn-*, *minsal* would be for *mīnchsali* 'little beads', *-chs-* being a diminutive element, and *-ali* being the plural ending of inanimate nouns. This would be another indication of an *l*-dialect (cp. *chappacor*, etc.).

Montóac [plural], Car. Alg.; gods or supernatural beings (H). Cp. forms of *manito* 'supernatural being' in Flannery, *Analysis*, p. 153. The word agrees with Fox *manetowaki* (preternatural beings, powers of nature, wonderful beings, but applied to snakes and insects also), and the same form is found in Ojibwa, Algonkin, Menominee, and Cree. But the non-initial form *-anet-*, *-anit-*, *-ant-* does not seem to occur in these languages. The missionaries thought the meaning was 'spirit, divinity' and so used it; the modern Indians have pretty generally accepted this meaning, but the Fox Indians who study their language realize that it is not the original idea, but a European importation. I cannot suggest any etymology.

Nahyápuw, Car. Alg.; bird, Fish Hawk (W). The accent surely indicates a high-pitch; the persistence of *-w* (from *-wa*) is notable, as an archaic trait. It seems to be from **nahi-y-āpōwa* 'he frequents the river (or water)'; the stems *nahi-* and *-āpōw-*, with the meanings assigned, are well known in the Central Algonquian languages (which are the best known).

Oçoco, probably Virg. Alg.; understood to mean copper (S). Cp. *ussawassin* 'white metal' (Smith, *Works*, p. 45) for the prior part. Smith's form means rather 'yellow stone', which = 'yellow ore' I imagine. It is evidently from **asāw-a'senyi* with the meaning given. The Spanish form *oçoco* would have a contraction of what I presume to have been **asāw-axkwi* in which the latter part (which may be *-āxkwi-*) means perhaps 'sharp, dangerous, weapon'. The meanings of *-axkwi-* and *-āxkwi-* are various and involved. One of the meanings of *-āxkwi-* is 'hard substance' but this usually refers to 'wood'; perhaps it can refer to stone also, or ore, or metal. The final *-o* would come from *-wi* normally.

Okeepenauk, Car. Alg.; 'edible roots of plants', possibly Wild Potato Vine (H). The first part is for **āxkwi-* (which could appear as *āxki-*) 'sharp, pungent', hence **āxkī-xpenyäki* for which the given spelling *okeepenauk* is what might be expected. The second part *axpenya*, plural *axpenyäki*, has been mentioned before.

Okindgíer, Car. Alg.; leguminous plants (H). Cp. Strachey, *Hist. of travell*, p. 178, *okisher*, *okinsher*, 'the bob of the gynny wheat without Corne', now 'corn-cob'. Hariot's description compares 'beans' and 'peas', but does not refer to the form of what may be called the 'cob' or 'pod', to which Strachey's forms apply, and with which *okindgier* seems to be identical (especially *okinsher*). The only word I can find that is similar is Ojibwa *ohkidjīn* (contracted from **uxkitcyäli*), Cree *oskitciya* 'pipe-stems' from the same archetype but with *-ya-* analogically for *-yä-*; our *okindgier* would be for the same PA form but with *-ie-* for *-yä-* (which seems archaic) and *r* for *l*, which is normal for an *r*-dialect. The idea of 'stick' or 'stem' or of 'pod' seems evident.

Okisco, Car. Alg.; man's name (N). What this suggests is Fox *kīckōha* (*ck* = *shk*), indicating a member of that moiety that used white paint and sat on the south

side at ceremonial gatherings (the other term was *Tōhkāna*, using black paint and sitting on the north side). In Fox, these terms could be used as familiar modes of address to each other, but not strictly as names. I do not know how widespread these terms were, but it is an interesting point to investigate.

Openauk, Car. Alg.; root of plant used as food; apparently Indian Potato (Marsh Potato) (H). No doubt it is the usual word for 'tubers' found in many of the languages of the family, going back to sg. **oxpenya*, pl. **oxpenyāki* (*ā* being regularly represented by *au* in English spellings of words of the eastern languages, and *ny* by *n* hereabouts and in several other languages). This word is found in Fox, Ojibwa, Algonkin, Menominee, Delaware, Penobscot, Powhatan, and perhaps elsewhere; I have not yet found it in Cree (too far north?). Strachey's *penminaugh* 'a rope' (*Hist. of travell*, p. 196) may be related, as these tubers sometimes form a 'chain' along a root; but I cannot explain the final *-naugh*.

Osámener, Car. Alg.; berry or nut; probably acorn (H). *Osa-mener* seems to be from **osāwi-* 'yellow, brown' (the Algonquian words for colours do not agree with the English terms, e.g. *osāwi-* applies to 'brown eyes') + **-minali* pl. of *min-* 'round object, berry, nut'. *Osāwi-* is contracted to *osā-* (quite normally). Possibly 'chestnuts', or 'hazelnuts', but probably not the latter, as this is a hard-shelled nut, which seems to be designated by Strachey's *ahsmenuns* (lege *ahsine-min-s*), *assinenuns* (lege *assine-min-s*) with English plural *-s* in both, 'walnuts', with an alternative *paukaun-s* (*Hist. of travell*, p. 205). The former is from **a'sini-* 'stone' + *-min-* 'round object, berry, fruit, nut'; the latter = Fox *pakāni* 'walnut, hickory-nut, large nut', from which comes English pecan.

Osocan, *Osacan*, *Osocon*, Car. Alg.; man's name (N). I can suggest nothing.

Pagatowr, Car. Alg.; plant, Maize (H). Cp. Strachey (*Hist. of travell*, p. 186) *pohcuwtoah*, *poketawes*, *poketaws*, *pocuttawes*. (The final *-s* in three of these forms is doubtless the English plural *-s*, replacing the *-r* of Hariot's form, which is the Algonquian plural ending, inanimate, **-li*). Cp. Fox *pakā-htō-* (with inanimate object) 'put in a kettle to boil'; an inanimate noun **pakā-htōwali* (pl.) 'things put in the kettle to boil' is likely, and that is precisely what *pagatowr* represents (in an *r*-dialect). The forms from Strachey and Smith represent the same form, with obscuring of the *-r*, or substitution of English plural *-s*.

Pashockshin, Car. Alg.; flat-fish, probably Southern Flounder (W). I cannot suggest anything.

Peeáwkoo, Car. Alg.; bird, possibly Booby (W). This suggests Fox *pīwayi* 'down-feather', Ojibwa *obiwai*; this could contract, in a compound, to *pīwā-*; what is added may be *akwi-* 'cover'; so *pīwākwiwa* (whence *pīwākuwa*) 'he is covered with down-feathers'. The accentuation would be *pī́wā́kùwa*, according to the present-day Fox custom. This seems satisfactory, as Ojibwa has a compound of this sort *umīgis-ago-* 'be covered with wampum-shells'.

Pemisapan, Car. Alg.; man's name; see *Wingina* (N). It may be from *pem-us-āpa-n* in which *pem-* = 'along, as one goes along', *-us-* = 'from a distance, thence', *-āpa-* = 'look', as if 'he looks out as he goes' (which might apply to a wolf, and be a name appropriate to the wolf-gens), but this would be more likely in Spanish than English orthography. I cannot explain the final *-n*, as it

depends on what was lost in the word, and we do not know enough about the dialects of this region to determine that. If the name is not a gens-name but a descriptive name, it might mean 'he supervises, inspects', as if that were his office.

Piemacum, Piamacum, Car. Alg.; man's name (N). The variant vowels suggest strongly that the Algonquian prototype had *pyämi-* 'twist, throw around, churn up', + *-ākami* 'body of water'; so 'he churns up the water', a name appropriate to a fish-gens. There may have been a sturgeon-gens hereabouts, or some other fish-gens; these were common in other Algonkian tribes.

Poócqweo, Car. Alg.; a bird; probably Brown Thresher (W). The accent is probably the high-pitched tonic accent preceding the grave accent on the Proto-Algonquian penult, *-eo* representing *-iwa* or *-äwa*. Apparently *-cqweo* is for *-hkwä-wa* 'he uses head-movement', i.e. 'he pecks'. The initial element *pa-* or *poo-* suggests a haplology for *pōhkw-ehkwä-wa* 'he makes a hole by pecking', which would refer to a bird like the Flicker which digs out a nest in the decayed parts of a tree.

Pooneno, Car. Alg.; man's name (N). I can suggest nothing.

Popogusso, Car. Alg.; future place of punishment, hell (H). Cp. *popogwussur* 'hell' Strachey (*Hist. of travell*, p. 187). Hariot describes it as 'a great pitte or hole . . . there to burne continually' (p. 373 above). Apparently from **pōxkwi-* 'dig, break open' (reduplicated to show intensity, duration, or plurality) + *-so-* 'action of heat', as if 'fire-pit(s)'; Strachey's form is plural inanimate. That *g* is used, not *k*, seems to show imperfect hearing.

Pummockóner, Car. Alg.; berries or acorns, possibly hickory nuts (H). Cp. Strachey *paangahtamuns*. 'a hazel nut' (p. 187). I suspect that this should be *pummockómener*: in all these nut-names *-mener* would represent **-minali*, plural of the inanimate noun **-mini*, mentioned frequently above; *-minauk* is plural of **-mina*, the same thing treated as an animate noun (this variation of animate and inanimate being found in all the better-known languages of the family; i.e. what we would expect to be inanimate often turns out to be animate, the reason often being obscure). It seems to be for **pem-ākwa-minali*, from **pemi-* 'along, all along' + **ākwa* 'lie on the ground, lie in a heap' + **-minali* 'berries, fruits, nuts, round objects'; as if 'nuts that lie around in heaps', referring either to the profusion of nuts lying on the ground when frost causes them to fall, or to heaps of them when collected and stored for the winter, but in the latter case one would expect a stem representing 'store'.

Qvúnziuck, Ovúnziuck, Car. Alg.; bird, Red-breasted Merganser (W). I can make no suggestion, except that it looks like a plural.

Quurúcquaneo, Car. Alg.; bird, Flicker (W). Cp. Strachey, *Hist. of travell*, p. 197, *Qwanonats* 'wood-pigeon', *Towacqwoins, towacgwoins*, 'pigeon'. As to the heading-word, *-ucquaneo* looks like **-ehkwäni-* 'head-motion' + *-wa* 3rd sg. animate pronominal ending. The initial element *quur-* may be from **kweth-* 'turn' which would appear as *kwer-* in an *r*-dialect, and in a Northern English dialect this might be represented by *kwur-*; the same remark might be made as to the following *-u-* for *-e-*. The basis of the name would be the fact that the Flicker, in digging his nest in a decayed tree, digs (by pecking) and then turns his head aside to throw out what he has picked up in his beak.

Raklock, Car. Alg.; tree, probably White Cypress (H). It can be from **lōxki-* 'soft' + **-āxkw-* 'tree, wood'. The *-i-* indicates the loss of a consonant, perhaps *-w-* or *-y-*, which are found as 'buffer-consonants' to separate stems in composition. **lōxki-w-āxkwi* 'soft wood' seems satisfactory.

Renapoaks, Car. Alg.; generic name for all the Indian peoples (N). It represents **Len-āpäwaki* (but with English plural), from **leni-*, **ileni-* 'true, real, genuine' + **-āpäwa*, pl. *-waki* 'man, male'; this was the name by which the Delawares of eastern Pennsylvania and neighbouring areas called themselves. The article under this heading in Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians*, II, by Gerard, gives the pertinent forms from various languages, but accepts the older view that *r* was the older and the original sound, replaced later by *l* in some of the languages; nowadays the opposite view is commonly held. The Algonquian *ä* = English flat *a* as in *hat*, and was commonly written *a* or *au* by English writers; probably *o* here was due to the following *w*.

Ribuckon, Car. Alg.; fish, probably White Perch (W). It is difficult to make anything out of this; the final portion *-ckon* cannot be the inanimate plural ending *-kwali* (in an *n*-dialect) as the name of a fish should be animate; it might be from *-hkwan** 'head' as if 'having a...head'. I cannot find anything that might explain *rib(w)-*. I find nothing like **li'kw-*. Ojibwa has *nīp-* 'straight up, erect', but I cannot show that this can be from **līp-*; if it can, could the meaning be that the fish 'uses its head (= bites) from below straight upward'? Head-movement would be expressed by *-ehkwän-* as noted above. An English rendering of *-wä-* by *-u-* or *-o-* is not impossible.

Sacquenúmmener, Car. Alg.; edible berries on plant (H). Cp. **sakwi-* 'clasp, hold'; also 'thick, dense' (as in Fox, Ojibwa, Cree) + *nu-* 'hand-movement for oneself' (referring to the one who plucks them) + *-minäli* 'berries' (in an *r*-dialect). So, perhaps, 'berries plucked in a cluster'. Smith's *ocoughtana-min-s* (sic lege!), 'a berry like capers' (*Works*, p. 58) has the same ending, but there is no similarity in the prior part! The accent seems to be a stress-accent, not a pitch-accent.

Sagatémener, Car. Alg.; nuts, possibly chestnuts (H). I would propose *sahk-a-htä-minali* 'nuts that are put on the fire, i.e. roasted', from **sahk-a-* 'put on the fire, put to roast' (where *-a-* = '*put*') + *-htä-* inanimate passive element referring to action of heat or fire = 'burn, cook, boil, roast, etc.' + *-minali* 'nuts, berries, fruits, etc.'. So = 'roasting-nuts, nuts for roasting', or 'nuts that are usually roasted'. This might well apply to chestnuts. The accent is a stress-accent, not a pitch-accent. The *e* of the syllable *-te-* is notable as representing Algonkin *ä*; it seems to mean the *e* of 'there', which is pretty close to the Algonquian sound.

Sapúmmener, Car. Alg.; nuts, probably Chinquapin nuts (H). This is the plural of the word that appears in Algonkin as *cabomin* 'groseille verte = gooseberry' (Cuoq), 'so-called because of its prickles which pierce the fingers', from *cāpwi* 'pierce'. Some Algonquian languages substitute *s* for *c* (= Eng. *sh*), e.g. Cree, Menominee. Strachey's *anaskimmin-s* 'acorn' (with English pl.) has *anaski-* 'spread' + *-min* 'nut', referring, I suppose, to the way the ground is strewn with acorns when they are ripe. *Assunoineindge* (lege *-meindge*) 'walnut-tree', has *assuno-* diminutive of *assin-* 'stone' + *-mintci* 'tree, shrub' = Delaware *-minshi*, Algonkin *-minj*, Ojibwa *-minj*, *-mij*, Fox *-mici*: as if 'little-stony-fruit tree'.

Sacquenúckot, Car. Alg.; animal, possibly Marsh Rabbit (H). I propose *sucki-* 'black, dark' (Roger Williams for Narragansett, and Delaware) + *-nu-* a reflexive element implying 'painting oneself' or 'being painted, coloured' + *-hkāt* 'foot'; as if the whole meant 'black-footed'. *Mussascus* (Smith, *Works*, p. 59), *muscascus* (Strachey, *Hist. of travell*, p. 124) 'musk-rat' should, perhaps, be taken as alternative forms of Strachey's *osasquus* 'a Muskcat' (p. 197) which would = Fox *acackwa* (*c* = Eng. *sh*), cp. Ojibwa *wajask*, Algonkin *wajack-wak*, with forms in both as well as Cree beginning with *watc-*. For support of Smith's form, see Trumbull's *Natick dictionary*, s.v. **musquash*. But there is no apparent relationship with *sacquenuckot*. Strachey's *momonsacqueo* 'bear' has to be compared with *amonsoquath* 'bear', in both of which *-acqueo* seems to be the final form *-axkwä-* for 'bear' (which initially is **maxkwa*); *-oquath* may be a misreading for the same; otherwise I have no idea what it is. *Amons-* suggests *āmano-* (?) = 'rutting'; *momons-* looks like a reduplicated form, for *āmāmano-* (?). In any case, these Strachey forms seem to mean 'rutting bear'! The element *-acque-* in Strachey's forms cannot be assumed to be the same as the *-acque-* in Hariot's *Sacquenuckot* unless we assume that *S-* is the remnant of a stem, such as *ke's-*, or *mes-*, both of which might mean 'big' (with different connotations), in which case the meaning of *Sacquenuckot* would have to be 'his foot resembles that of a big bear' (or 'is of the colour of a big bear'). This does not seem reasonable.

Seékanauk, Car. Alg.; a shell-fish, King-crab (H). Cp. Fox *sīkānähaki* (pl.) 'small turtles, black, round, 3 in. across', which I cannot analyse satisfactorily; *sīk-* = 'pour' + *-ānä-* (combining-form of *-āne-* 'top'?), as if 'top(-shell) used for pouring', i.e. as a ladle. There is a stem *sīkä-* (and probably a parallel form *sīkā-*, as is usual) = 'angle, corner, bend or loop (in a river)', and also a stem *-anä-* 'stir (what is cooking)'; hence *sīkā-nä-* would appear possible for 'bent, curved, thing for stirring', i.e. 'ladle made from the curved thing', i.e. from the top-shell of a turtle (but here 'from the shell of a crab'). I am not quite satisfied with this, but I imagine the solution lies along this line. If *-anä-* 'stir' is present, it argues an *n*-dialect, as Cree *-ite-* argues PA **-athä-*.

Skiko, *Skyco*, Car. Alg.; man's name (N). It looks like **ackikwa* 'seal', the marine animal. There may have been a gens named after the seal (though it is not in Swanton's list (*Indians*, pp. 658–60)); I would expect some qualifying element. Cp. *Skicóak*, p. 855 above.

Tanaquiny, *Tarraquine*, Car. Alg.; man's name (N). If these two forms are dialectical variants of the same original, this must have been **tal-*, **tath-*, **tanth-* or something similar, with the meaning 'such, so many'; *-aqui-* might be from **-āxkwi-* 'tree', but there are other similar stems (whose PA forms have not yet been even tentatively established) meaning 'sharp, dangerous, pointed; in line, regular, legal; slanting, leaning'.

Tangomóckonomindge, Car. Alg.; tree of which the bark is used for dyeing red (H). Cf. *tanx* 'little' (Strachey, *Hist. of travell*, pp. 175, 203; Smith, *Works*, p. 76). It seems clear that **tank-* = 'little', and that **tanx-* is for **tankesi-* 'be little (animate subject)', and **tango-* is for **tank-wi-* or **tankwi-wi-* 'be little (inanimate subject)' (without or with haplology). As just indicated, the stem may have been (and probably was) **tankwi-* which could have been reduced to

**tanki-* but persisted in certain circumstances; as here, indeed. In the rest of the word, *mocko-* represents **maxkwi-* 'bear' (adjectival combining-form of **maxkwa* 'bear' when used as a prefix), and *mindge* is for **-minci* 'tree, shrub' (cited above); these two elements occur in Fox *mahkomici* 'sumac', Algonkin-Ojibwa *makwimij*, *-minj* 'cormier; service-tree'. The *-no-* I do not understand, unless it is *-mockono-* for *-mockwi-* or even *-mockowi-*.

Tapisco, Vir. Alg.; understood to mean gold (S). The Algonquian stem represented by *-apisco* in this word is **-āpexkwi-* 'rock, hard matter, metal', and *-wi-* often becomes *-u-*, *-o-* in all the languages of the family. The *t-* is all that remains of a prefix that described the 'metal' or 'ore'. There is evidence in Strachey (*Hist. of travell*, pp. 180, 182) that *mat-* means 'red': e.g. *mat-aqui-uun* 'a red dye' (= *mat-āhkwi-wen* 'red-painting'), *mat-assunn* 'copper' (= *mat-a'sen* 'red stone or ore'). So here perhaps *m-t-āpexkwi* 'red rock, ore, or metal', with apheresis. But there is nothing in the word to determine anything but the colour.

Taráwhow, Car. Alg.; bird, Sandhill Crane (W). All I can say is that the final portion *-awhow* suggests the instrumental *-ahw-* + the pronominal ending for he him, i.e. 'he' as subject and 'him' as object of the verb denoted by what precedes, which is accomplished 'by means of something, as a tool', here no doubt the long beak of the crane! So 'he spears him'; but the initial part *tar-* is the crux of the question. To compare Delaware *taleka* 'crane' leaves the question what is Delaware *tal-*; it might be from **tal-*, **tath-*, etc., with no meaning apparent.

Tesicqueo, Car. Alg.; edible snake, possibly Scarlet King-snake (W). Cp. Strachey (*Hist. of travell*, p. 115) *keihtascooc* 'adder'. This latter = **ke't-* 'big' + what appears in Delaware as *achgook* and in Natick as *askook*, *askug*, 'snake'. But *tesicqueo* has nothing in common with this; it seems to contain *täs-* 'elevated horizontally' (found in Ojibwa, Algonkin, Cree, at least) + *-ehkwä-* 'head-movement', the final *-o* being for *-wa* = 3rd singular pronominal element; as if 'he lifts his head horizontally'. This seems plausible.

Tetszo, Car. Alg.; a fish, possibly Striped Mullet (W). I do not know what pronunciation is intended by this spelling, and cannot comment.

Tetepano, Car. Alg.; man's name (N). Seems to be *tetep-* 'around, whirling' + *-an-* inanimate copula applying to natural phenomena + *-wa* 3rd singular animate ending (being a personal name). The reference would be to a 'whirlwind', as if the man so named belonged to the 'Thunder-gens'. So it would be among the Fox, and probably this would hold for the Algonquian languages in general.

Towaye, Car. Alg.; man's name (N). The only comment I can make is that this name is remarkably like the familiar (or colloquial) form of the name of Harry Lincoln, my informant and interpreter at Tama, Iowa, for nine summers. His name is *Täw-āhku-haka* '(lightning) injures the tree', or 'the one who injures the tree(s)', and the familiar form is *Täwāha*, of which the vocative form is *Täwāhe*. Confusion and interchange of *h*, ' (the glottal stop), *w*, and *y*, due to a languid or weak pronunciation or enunciation of these sounds, is found to be most complete in Kickapoo, and progressively less in Potawatomi, Fox, Ojibwa, Menominee, Algonkin, and Cree; the other languages I have not

studied as to this point. This suggestion may mean nothing, or it may be a complete solution.

Tsinaw, Car. Alg.; edible root of Woody Smilax (H). An Algonquian phonetic variant of *China*, probably so called by Manteo or Wanchese after hearing Englishmen describe it as the China root (*Smilax china*), cp. p. 348–9 above.

Tummaihumenes, Car. Alg.; bird, Grackle (W). Probably by apheresis for *k-t-ummaihu-mene-s*, in which the final part is from *-minä-* 'seeds' + *s* 'bird'; initial *k-t* is probably **ke't-* 'big; much', and *-ummai-hu* may be for **-amwi-hu-* with *-amwi* = 'eat' and *-hu-* a middle voice reflexive element meaning action done for one's own sake. As if 'bird that gets himself a big meal of seeds'.

Uppówoc, Car. Alg.; plant, Tobacco (H). Cp. Strachey (*Hist. of travell*, pp. 74, 197, 204) *apooke, ahpooc, upooc, pooc*, also *apokan, uhpoocan* 'a tobacco-pipe'. Apparently *-po-* is for *-pwā-* in **uxpwā-* 'puff'; *-woc* is either 3rd pl. *-waki* 'they' or 3rd pl. + animate object *-āwaki* (contracted to *-āki* as in Ojibwa). As if 'they puff' or 'they puff it' (tobacco is animate in these languages). The word is found pretty generally throughout the family.

Wanchese, Win-, Car. Alg.; man's name (N). It suggests *wäntc-isä-* 'flies out' (a bird-gens name, apparently) from *untc-isä-* but with the 'change' (of vowel) in the first syllable that is characteristic of participials (but without the participial ending). Such forms are found in the northern languages also.

Wapeih, Car. Alg.; clay believed to have medicinal qualities (H). Cp. Strachey *wapin* 'a stab', *wapewh* 'a hurt or cut' (*Hist. of travell*, pp. 188, 205). This latter suggests *wäp-ahw-äwa* 'he beats him'. I would guess *wāpiwiw'* 'it is white' or *wāpiw^a* 'it (animate) is white' for *wapeih* on the supposition that the clay was white. In New England *wāp-* would have been written *wop-*; but perhaps Algonkin *ā* was not pronounced *o* at this time, at least hereabouts. In Ojibwa, Algonkin, Cree, *wābikan* means 'a white clay', Fr. 'glaise', 'potter's earth'.

Wasewówr, Wasebur, Car. Alg.; seed of herb used for dyeing red (H). Cp. *owaugh, wouwh* 'eggs' (Strachey). It seems to be *wāsi-wāwali* 'shiny eggs (= seeds)'; but *wāsi-* also means 'conical'. Strachey's forms are singular, not plural; the form with *o-* seems to be a possessive-verb form **owāwiwa* 'she has eggs (= is laying)' according to Algonkin (Lemoine).

Wassador, Car. Alg.; copper (or any metal) (N, e.g. Lane). Cp. Smith *mattassin* 'copper', *ussawassin* 'a white metal' (*Works*, p. 44); Strachey *aucutgagwassun* 'a copper kettle', *matassunn* 'copper', *osawas* 'brass' (*Hist. of travell*, pp. 179–81). *Wassador* seems to be *wāsi-* 'shiny' + *atowali* '(lit.) blood-clots', perhaps 'small reddish masses'; fanciful, perhaps, but semantically possible. Smith's *mattassin* = Strachey's *matassunn* 'copper', both having *mat-* apparently = 'red' (discussed above under *Tapisco*) + **a'seni* 'rock, stone, ore'. Smith's *ussaw-asin* 'a white metal' = Strachey's *osawas[in]* 'brass', both from **osāwi* 'yellow' + **a'seni*.

Weeheépens, Car. Alg.; bird, Swallow (W). Seems to be onomatopeic. The final *-ns* may be the diminutive ending found frequently in Ojibwa-Algonkin (indicating a dialect in which the combinations of nasal + consonant were preserved, as in Ojibwa, Algonkin, Delaware, etc.), or the final *-s* may indicate 'bird'.

Weewraamánqueo, Car. Alg.; bird, Bufflehead Duck (W). The final part *-queo* suggests *-ehkwāwa* 'he pecks' or 'he is...as to the head'. The prior part is evidently garbled; read *wew-araman-equeo* and we have something that can be interpreted as *wīw-* 'wrap' + *-araman* (cp. Fox *anamani*, Ojibwa-Algonkin *onaman*, Cree *wiyaman*, all meaning 'paint' or a particular paint, 'vermilion'; but not vermilion here, for this duck's head is white!). So 'he has his head wrapped in (white) paint' seems to be indicated. The *y* of Cree, parallel with *n* in Fox-Ojibwa-Algonkin, points to PA **l*, for which *r* in an *r*-dialect hereabouts.

Werowans, *Weroance*, *Werowance*, *Weroanse*, *Wiróans*, *Wiroance*, *Heround*, *Herowan*, *Cherom*, Car. Alg.; chief or leading man in a tribe (H, N). Cp. Strachey *weroance*, *wiroance* 'a king or great lord' (*Hist. of travell*, pp. 63, 190), *wironausqua* (lege *wiroan(s)usqua*) 'a woman queene'. Apparently from *wilaw-* 'rich, valuable, precious' (as in Delaware) + *-āntesi-* 'exist, get along, have such a manner of life' (as in Fox-Ojibwa-Algonkin *-ātesi-*, *-ātisi-*, *-ādisi-*, but here a nasal must have developed after *-ā-*, as in New England). This seems satisfactory, although I have no citations in support of Delaware *wilawi-*, and do not know whether this has *wi-* or *wī-*.

Weroanza Car. Alg.; feminine of *Wiroans*, chieftainess (or queen) (N). Cp. Strachey *weroancqua*, *wironausqua* (for which, as above, lege *wiroansusqua* (*Hist. of travell*, pp. 64, 206). The regular Algonquian form for the feminine is given by Strachey's form, but this is contracted haplologically, and misread (with metathesis). Cp. *Herowan* above.

Wickonzówr, Car. Alg.; plant, or small fruit of leguminous plant, 'peas' (H). All that seems certain is that it ends in **-owali*, contracted to *-owr*. The initial part *wick-* suggests *wīnk-* 'agreeable, pleasant'; *-onzo-* (= *-un-su*) suggests Ojibwa *-onso-* 'be properly boiled, cooked'; the whole meaning would be 'they (inanimate plural) are pleasant when properly cooked' or something like that. But it is inconsistent to have *nk* represented by *k* and *ns* by *nz* = *ns*, unless we suppose that the nasal-stop combinations (at least *nk*) lost the nasal before the *ns* combination did; this is quite possible, theoretically. So, perhaps, **wīnk-unso-wali* became *wīk-onso-war*^{i}, spelled as above.

Wingina, *o*, Car. Alg.; man's name (N). W. R. Gerard, in Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians*, II, 958, thought it to be an abbreviation of *wīnginam* 'he looks at [it] with complaisance', which is basically correct, no doubt; but one should compare Ojibwa *-nān* for the form of the final syllable. The particular meaning would depend on the gens to which he belonged. If it is a gens-name, it suggests the eagle-gens: eagles are reputed to be able to look even at the sun without blinking (if the Indians had this notion). The stems involved are: *wīnki-* 'pleasing', *-naw-/-n-* an instrumental meaning 'look at' animate object/inanimate object (no doubt an old verbal stem reduced to the role of an instrumental). Strachey's *wing-an* (*Hist. of travell*, p. 205) is *wīnk-* + inanimate copula *-an* 'it is'.

Winauk, Car. Alg.; tree, Sassafras' (H). Apparently from *wīn-* 'dirty, muddy, sticky' + *-āhk*^{wi} 'tree', from the mucilaginous roots.

Woanagusso, Car. Alg.; bird, Trumpeter Swan (W). Cp. Strachey *wapussouc* 'swan' (*Hist. of travell*, p. 203). Unless in the first form *n* is a misreading of *p*,

there is no kinship between the two forms, and even then the syllable *-ag-* is a difficulty. Strachey's form seems to be for **wāp-i'lä-waki* 'white fliers = white birds'; from **wāpi-* 'white' + *i'lä-* 'fly' + *-waki* 3rd person plural of verbs and nouns; *-i'lä-* became *-isä-*, *-ise-* in Fox, Ojibwa, Algonkin, and *-issau-* may be valid here; that *-issauwak* should be written *-ussouc* is not at all strange. In White's form, *-usso* could represent the sg. *-isäw^a* (on the same supposition that **-i'lä-* became *-isä-*); but *woanag-* suggests Fox *wānakw-* 'hollow'; but would 'he who flies about the hollows' be a reasonable name for this bird? In Fox 'hollow' means 'a depression in the ground'.

Wundúnãham, Car. Alg.; fish, possibly Branch Herring (alternative name *Chaham*, q.v.) (W). Perhaps from *(w)und-* 'thence' + *ani-* (Fox *ani-* 'excel', Ojibwa *ani-* 'go on, proceed', Cree *ati-* 'go on', hence from **athi-*; or from **uli-* 'well, good, etc.' found with *l* in the *l*-dialects, and with *n* in the *n*-dialects, as was also **th*; in any case this form would have to be representative of an *n*-dialect) + *-aham-* 'swim, paddle, walk, etc.'. So, perhaps, 'he swims away fast'. This looks plausible.

Wyngandacoia, etc. Cp. p. 853–4 above.

Wysauke, *Wysank*, *Wisakon*, Car. Alg.; plant, Milkweed (W). Cp. Smith *wighsacan* 'juice of root for purgative; root used to heal wounds' (*Works*, pp. 74, 369); Strachey *Wighsacan*, 'the Iuyce of a Roote', taken for purgative in spring (*Hist. of travell*, p. 111). The third form seems to be nearest to what seems to be the prototype, i.e. **wīsak-an-wi* 'it is bitter'. The PA form seems to be **wē'sak-an-wi*, justified by forms in Fox, Ojibwa, Algonkin, Abnaki, Natick, Micmac, Cree, Delaware, Menominee and perhaps other languages. The acrid-tasting juice of the milkweed justifies the Algonquian name.

APPENDIX III

THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE ROANOKE SETTLEMENTS

The archaeology of the Carolina Algonkian Indians has not yet been developed to a point where there has been any systematic attempt to look for, still less to excavate, the village sites located by White and Hariot. The village on Roanoke Island described by Barlowe[1] has been approximately identified, but, through the erosion of Northwest Point, it has now been submerged in the sounds, although a reconnaissance of the shore, made in 1938 by Dr Charles W. Porter and other officials of the National Park Service, revealed some Indian pottery and clay pipes[2] which may be contemporary with the Roanoke voyages. Casual finds[3] too have led to the identification of an Algonkian village site near Cape Hatteras which, though not specifically mentioned in the narratives, was the headquarters of the Croatoan Indian tribe.[4] Other habitation sites on the Banks in the vicinity of Nags Head, on Roanoke Island itself, and along the northern shores of Albemarle Sound are known,[5] but

[1] Pp. 106–7 above.

[2] Porter, 'Report on an archaeological and historical reconnaissance... May 28–May 30, 1938', for which I am indebted to Dr Porter and Mr J. C. Harrington. Some Indian pipes and pottery from this site are now in the Museum at Fort Raleigh.

[3] One of these finds is noted on pp. 866, 908. Mr Harrington has found surface indications of two other Indian sites south-west of Buxton.

[4] Cp. p. 866 above.

[5] A preliminary survey on the ground is gradually disclosing a series of sites. In 1947 Mr Harrington was able to locate on the map three places giving surface indications of Indian sites in the vicinity of Nags Head and two on Colington Island, with five (including the North-west Point village) on Roanoke Island, but none has yet been systematically excavated. It may be noted that a substantial number of the Indian artifacts filed under Dare County, North Carolina (specimens no. 196,474, *et seq.*), in the Department of Archaeology, U.S. National Museum, are dated 1896. While no record of their deposit has been traced, and they are located merely under Roanoke Island, north end, and Roanoke Island, south end, it is likely that they were found in 1895 on Roanoke Island by Talcott Williams during his excavations there (cp. p. 904 below). Mention may also be made of three moulded and coloured clay heads and 'body', found near the former Caffey Inlet (U.S. Coast Guard Station, no. 10). No parallels in this area have been found for it (U.S. National Museum, Department of Archaeology,

no definite evidence has yet been found to link them with the sixteenth century.

Of the remains left by the English visitors and settlers between 1584 and 1590 only scattered traces survive. We may list the sites so as to see what has been found out about them:

A. The slipway at Port Ferdinando

This was seen by the Spaniards in 1588, together with barrels sunk in the sand to catch water.[1] If the arguments above[2] are sound it was situated on the present Bodie Island, within not more than 5000 yards of the southern tip (as of 1942).[3] It is most likely to have been eroded in the coastal recession or during the moving of the inlets, but it is possible that it was submerged in sand and that some traces still remain.

B. The cottages put up in 1585

These were apparently located between the 1585 fort and the Indian village at North-west Point, within not more than half a mile westwards or north-westwards. Most probably they were within a short distance from the fort entrance. Apart from the knowledge that they were thatched with reeds[4] and that they had an upper storey[5] we have no definite information about them. They may have been of timber alone or of wattle and daub in timber frames set on the ground, perhaps with brick footings and chimneys. They survived until July 1587 at least,[6] were reoccupied in that month and had 'newe Cottages' added to them, and by August 1590 had been taken down.[7] They have not since been found, despite the digging of exploratory trenches in 1947–8 to a distance of some 800 ft. west of the 1585 fort.

C. The palisade erected between 1587 and 1590

This was erected round the site where the cottages had stood after White's departure from Roanoke Island in September 1587. As it was a high palisade of 'great trees, with cortynes and flankers very Fort-

report of 28 January 1938 on specimen no. 251,716), but (if it is not a modern invention) it may link up with the carved heads on posts in the White drawings (cp. pp. 427–8 above), as there is some similarity between the faces, while the 'Kiwasa' image (pp. 424–6 above) may well have been a clay-moulded one.

[1] P. 811 above. [2] Pp. 841–5, 862 above.

[3] U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey Chart 1229 (7th ed., December 1942).

[4] P. 282 above. [5] P. 524 above. [6] P. 524 above. [7] P. 614 above.

like', it must have taken some time to build. We are not told that there were any buildings inside it, but there were found in 1590 bars of iron, 2 pigs of lead, 4 iron fowlers, iron saker-shot and other debris overgrown by vegetation.[1] This has never, in recent times at least, been located, but it is not impossible that post-holes for the stakes of the palisade will eventually be found. Once again the exploratory trenches of 1947–8 failed to reveal any trace of it.

D. The cove

A small creek near the north-eastern end of the island was used by boats coming to the island. White failed in 1590 to find any traces of boats there, but found a part of an inscription carved on a tree above it.[2] It is possible that some kind of rough slipway was constructed here also. As the shore has been eroded, it is not possible to locate it with accuracy, but it would have been in the vicinity of the sand-spit immediately to the east of the 1585 fort.

E. The 1585 fort on Roanoke Island

The most important of our other contemporary references show us that the building inside the 1585 defences was of more than one storey and was still intact, though damaged by fire, by July 1587, while already by that date the outer defences had been 'rased downe'.[3] In 1590 it would appear that the fort building had disappeared (though the evidence here is negative rather than positive) and that all that was left of the outer defences was the remains of some old trenches.[4]

There survived into the seventeenth century, therefore, relics on two sites—that of the palisaded enclosure containing some heavy debris, and that of the 1585 fort with its damaged ramparts and largely filled

[1] P. 614 above.

[2] 'Cro' (p. 613 above). 'Croatoan' was found cut on a tree at the entrance to the enclosure (p. 614). It was possibly the former which was alleged in the eighteenth century to be still extant. 'A stump of live oak, said to have been the tree on which this word was cut, was shown, as late as the year 1778, by the people of Roanoke Island. It stood at the distance of about six yards from the shore of Shalonbas-Bay [Shallowbag Bay], on the land then owned by Daniel Baum. This bay is formed by Ballast-point and Baum's-point'; so F.-X. Martin (*The history of North Carolina*, 1 (1829), 351), but as Baum Point is over 5000 yards south-east of the fort little reliance need be placed on this tradition.

[3] P. 524 above.

[4] Pp. 524, 528, 615 above.

ditch. Our subsequent problem is to tell when later observers are speaking of one or the other. Thus we cannot be sure which is referred to by Francis Yeardley when he was shown the ruins of Raleigh's fort by an Indian in 1654.[1] Lawson, some fifty years later, also saw 'Ruins of a Fort' and 'some old English coins, which have been lately found; and a Brass-gun, a Powder-horn, and one small Quarter deck Gun, made of Iron Staves, and hoop'd with the same Metal'.[2] The finding of the guns suggested strongly that the site he was describing was that of the palisaded enclosure where White had found comparable heavy debris in 1590.[3] If so, Lawson's visit is our last known contact with this site.

When it re-emerges in the nineteenth century the site which is described is clearly that of the 1585 fort. The 'slight traces' seen about 1850,[4] take shape ten years later when E. C. Bruce reported that the fort trench formed a square, each side being about 40 yards, while one corner was thrown out in the form of a small bastion. He noted the finding of fragments of stone and brick.[5] Talcott Williams investigated the same site more closely in 1895. He describes the plan of the fort defences as a quadrangle with the angles lying north, south, east and west. Both ditch and bank could be seen, the latter lying, at its highest point, 2 ft. 4 in. above the ditch. His measurements for the faces of the bank were—S.E. 84·3 ft., S.W. 77·6 ft., N.W. 63·3 ft., and N.E. 73·9 ft. He recorded some excavations in a black, ashy layer, towards the base of which he found small pieces of iron, a corroded nail, a chipped piece of quartzite and some fragments of Indian pottery.[6] He further marked the surface outlines of the ditch. The site was, however, left alone until in 1938 a log palisade was erected around the bank, and within the enclosure a fort-like structure of logs was constructed. If the argument above is correct, it does not seem that the 1585 fort ever had a palisade, while the log-cabin blockhouse was clearly anachronistic.

[1] A. S. Salley, *Narratives of early Carolina*, pp. 25–6; Porter, in *North Carolina Hist. Rev.* XX, 40 (from *Colonial records of North Carolina*, I, 18).

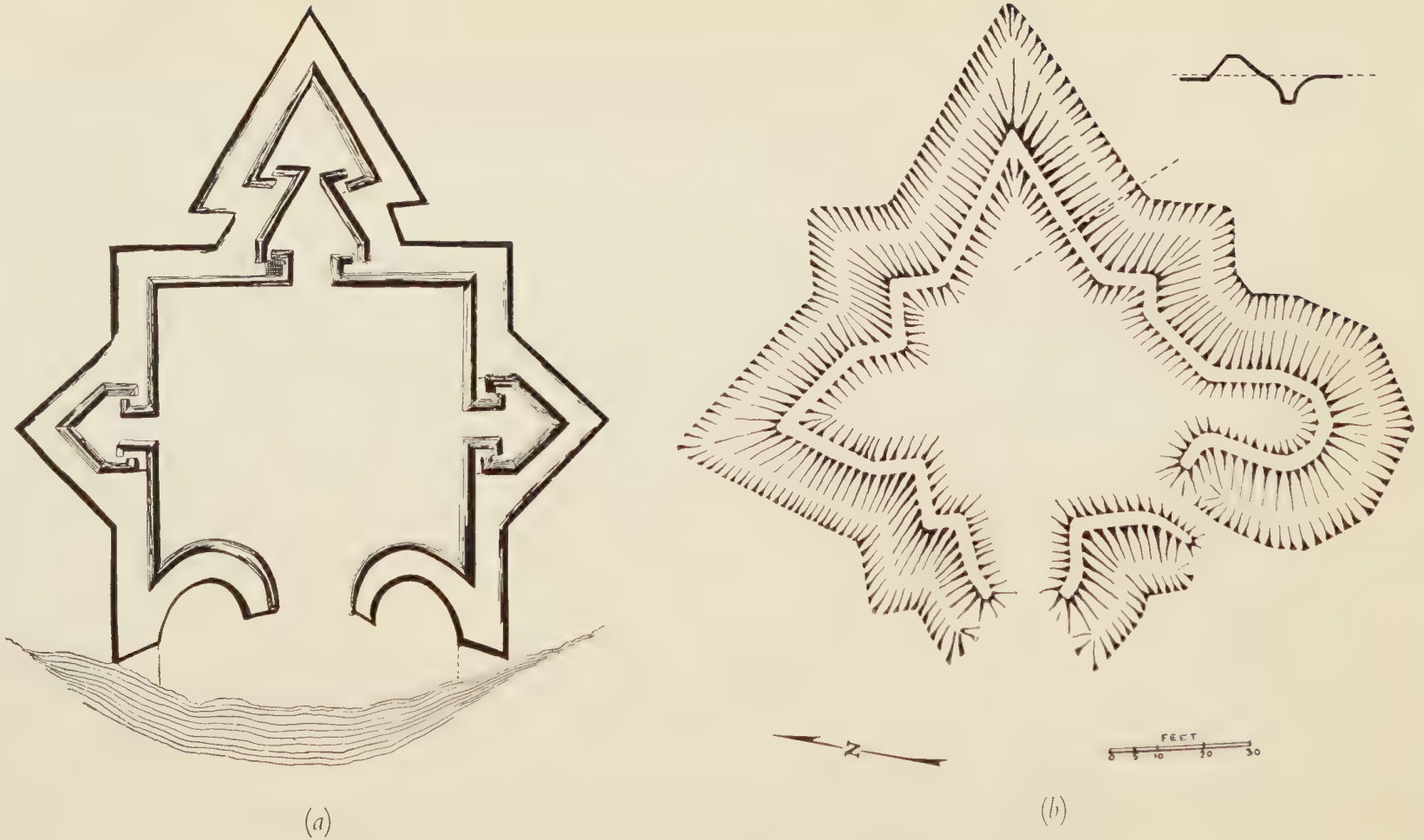
[2] *A new voyage to Carolina* (1709), p. 62; Porter, *op. cit.* The gun might have been one of the four iron guns (though he says they were cast iron) which Diaz records having been left with Grenville's party in 1586.

[3] Porter, *op. cit.* p. 40.

[4] Porter, *op. cit.* p. 41.

[5] E. C. Bruce, 'Loungings in the footprints of the pioneers', in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, XX (May 1860), 721–36; Harrington, 'Report', I, 134.

[6] 'The surroundings and site of Raleigh's colony', in *Annual Report of the American Historical Society for 1895* (1896), pp. 47–61, especially p. 59.



(*a*) (*b*)

11. (*a*) The entrenchments near Cape Rojo, Puerto Rico (1585)
(*b*) The Roanoke fort ditch (1585), as excavated.

These structures had, however, decayed sufficiently by 1947[1] for scientific excavation to begin under the direction of Mr J. C. Harrington and as a result of work in that year, in 1948 and in 1950,[2] the ditch and rampart have been fully excavated and restored to what they were like at the time of their completion in August or September 1585. In spite of the hasty digging of Talcott Williams and the activity of later palisade-builders the excavation of the ditch was entirely successful, disturbance at one of the original entrances only giving any trouble. Eventually, both entrances and the bastions covering them were accurately defined and the ditch was restored. It was then possible to determine approximately the height and width of the rampart in proportion to the scale of the ditch and to make a reconstruction which, though conjectural, is unlikely to differ in any substantial degree from the original. It has subsequently been found possible to grow vegetation (Bermuda-grass) on the slopes of the ditch and banks and thus to 'fix' the restoration as a permanent feature.

The reconstruction provides a ditch about 5 ft. deep and 12–14 ft. in width at ground-level, while the rampart is 3 ft. wide at the top, slopes down to a firing step and then to the inside level. The top of the rampart is 5 ft. 6 in. above the inside floor.

The plan of the fortifications which emerges is that of a modified star-shaped fort, based on a square laid out on the ground and embellished with bastions. It should be compared with the plans given by Paul Ive in *The practise of fortification* (1589) and with those used by Lane in Puerto Rico.[3] The angles point approximately north, south, east and west. Those at the north and east have been modified to about 70° to turn them into simple bastions ('trenailles') and each are likely to have had a gun platform and two embrasures in the parapet wall. The east bastion commanded the approach by water to the north end of the island by way of Roanoke Sound and it is likely that a passage was cut through the trees to make it effective. Whether the north

[1] The 'round-log church' and other cabins (cp. A. R. Shurtleff, *The log cabin myth* (1939), p. 204) are mainly shrouded in vegetation.

[2] Harrington, 'Report', I (1949), II (1950) (the latter kindly loaned to me in typescript); Porter, *Fort Raleigh* (1952); and *The Iron Worker* (summer 1951), pp. 12–15, contain nearly all the following information. Mr Harrington's final report will include some further material, which has already largely been communicated to me. In view of the debt owed to Mr Harrington, it had best be stressed that he is not necessarily responsible for the interpretations in this appendix

[3] Cp. pp. 403–5 and fig. 11.

bastion is likely to have fulfilled a comparable function is less easy to say. Each of the three sides S.W.–N.E., N.W.–S.E., N.E.–S.W was interrupted about half-way along by another simple, but smaller, bastion (or 'spur'). There regularity ends. The south bastion was much more elaborate, being based on an octagonal lay-out. It was designed to cover the entrances and the approaches to them and may have been somewhat higher on this account. Again, one or more guns are likely to have been mounted. One entrance was to the right of this bastion, and in the reconstruction a small stockade has been erected to cover the flank of the rampart on the other side of the entrance, though there is no authority for this even if it is a likely feature. There is no west bastion, but, instead, a second entrance, so incised that 'spurs' stand out on either side of it. Nothing is known of what kind of gates or doors were used. The west entrance was the main one and is likely to have had double gates: the other could have been closed by a door as it is very narrow.[1]

A thorough examination was made of the soil inside the enclosure, but it had been disturbed in recent years to such an extent that the traces of sixteenth-century structures which could have remained would have been slight. What there were indicated that in the centre of the enclosure there had been a rectangular building 35 ft. by 10 ft. (or perhaps two buildings about 15 ft. by 10 ft.) at right-angles to the entrance. This was traced from soil filling alone and no foundations were discovered.[2] If these indications point back to 1585 it will be seen that the fort, with its store, treasury and lock-up, was a small affair, in which the upper floor may have held three or four rooms for the guard and the provost. A magazine and well are also likely to have been present. As at present laid out, the area enclosed is about 70 ft. square, but this would vary from that of 1585 according to the plus or minus error in the width of the reconstructed parapet.

One significant point about the contents of the ditch emerged from Mr Harrington's excavations. He notes[3] that:

> The fill in the bottom of the ditch was found to be relatively pure subsoil material with little or no topsoil admixture. This would indicate that the light yellow sand, characteristic of the subsoil, had been thrown up last on the parapet,

[1] Porter, *Fort Raleigh* (1952), contains both a plan and an aerial photograph of the reconstruction.

[2] Harrington, 'Report', II, 5.

[3] 'Report', I, 135–7.

and was the first to be washed back into the ditch. This process of erosion must have started very soon after the fort was built, before any humus layer had developed in the bottom of the ditch or on the parapet. . . further filling took place rather slowly.

If we take with this the passage about the fort being 'rased downe' between June 1586 and July 1587 it is highly probable that the first fill of humus-free subsoil was the result not of erosion but of the deliberate tipping of part of the parapet into the ditch, apparently by Grenville's small holding party when they were left in July 1586. It will consequently follow that any artifacts found below this first fill can, with a strong measure of probability, be associated with the first colony of 1585–6. Of these there are four: a wrought-iron sickle,[1] which has been preserved with difficulty and which is comparable with surviving Elizabethan specimens, and is the best attested English article to have been found in a 'probable' horizon; a top of a lead-glazed earthen-ware olive jar of Spanish type[2] which could well have been brought in one of the Spanish prizes from the West Indies in 1585; thirdly, an Indian tobacco pipe of red clay,[3] some 4 in. long, which Mr Harrington regards as likely to have been smoked by a member of the colony and to have been of a similar type to those which influenced the shape of the first clay pipes made in England; and, last, a 12 oz. lump of copper with a rough pitted surface.[4] The later fill yielded a number of Indian camp-fire sites with quantities of native pottery, three pots from which have been reconstructed and one of which is very similar to that drawn by White.[5]

[1] J. C. Harrington, 'Historic relic found', in *The Iron Worker* (summer 1951), pp. 12–15: illustrated also in Porter, *Fort Raleigh* (1952), p. 36.

[2] 'Report', I, 148, illustrated in Porter, p. 37.

[3] 'Report', II, 8. It may be noted that the introduction of tobacco pipes into England from the Roanoke colony of 1585–6 was given later as an innovation for which Lane's men were responsible (cp. pp. 344–6 above).

[4] The preliminary report on this lump (and its fellow from the enclosure topsoil), dated 12 March 1953, which Mr Harrington kindly let me see, reveals that the spongy condition is superficial and that the interior is solid metal. This has been melted at a temperature of 1981–2000° F. It is thus shown to be of European origin, and must have been brought from England by the settlers, unless it is Indian copper smelted by Joachim Ganz on the spot. It is at present impossible to account for the surface condition of the lumps, nor is the spectographic analysis, identifying the alloy present, yet available.

[5] Cp. pp. 437–8 above.

The topsoil inside the enclosure did not show any comparable stratification, but amongst the small quantity of debris recovered from it was a further lump of copper of a similar appearance, weighing 21½ oz., and three sixteenth-century latten jettons or casting-counters, all pierced as if they had been worn as pendants by Indians. These were made by Hans Schultes of Nürnberg between about 1550 and 1574, and, though used as counters for arithmetical computations in England,[1] may, besides, have been employed as trade-goods by the colonists. It is not surprising that they should have been found on Roanoke Island, as they would have been needed by the colonists for calculating wages and other transactions, but the fact that these three are pierced and that another, identical with two of them, was found about 1938 at the site of the Indian village near Cape Hatteras (Croatoan),[2] suggests they circulated quite readily amongst the Indians. Though a Hans Schultes jetton was found at Jamestown (along with two by other and later Nürnberg makers), it is likely that all four North Carolina specimens belong to the period 1584–90. A crude stone axe found under the remains of the original parapet[3] clearly predates the settlement. All other finds are in less significant positions. One fragment of hand-made brick, 2¾ in. thick (a 'possible' Elizabethan size) was found in the fill of the trench about 2 ft. 6 in. from the bottom[4] and other small pieces at other fairly deep levels, together with a piece of flat clay roofing tile.[5] It may be worth noting that in 1600 Darby Glavin stated that both brick and tiles were made by the first colony,[6] although no evidence of their place of manufacture has been found. It may also be noted that fragments of several cream unglazed Spanish olive jars were found at other levels in the ditch and through the subsoil of the enclosure, as well as two small fragments of majolica (Spanish or Hispano-Mexican).[7] A group of hand-made iron spikes was found a

[1] 'Report', II, 7; one is illustrated in Porter, *Fort Raleigh* (1952), p. 35. One has two holes, two have one each. Mr Harrington refers me to Francis Pierrepoint Barnard, *The casting-counter and the counting board* (Oxford, 1916), for a full account of their nature and use. His own study of the American specimens is shortly to appear.

[2] This was described and illustrated in the *News and Observer* (Raleigh, N.C.), 30 October 1938, by Mr Edwin L. Green. It is not pierced. Mr Harrington does not regard the holes in the Roanoke specimens as necessarily implying they were used as ornaments.

[3] 'Report', II, 7.

[4] 'Report', I, 137.

[5] 'Report', II, 6.

[6] P. 835 above.

[7] 'Report', II, 6.

few inches below the surface of the north-east bastion,[1] while near the surface, over the ditch fill and enclosure, were picked up a few unidentified iron objects, nails, other spikes, part of a brass buckle, a single glass bead and several lead musket balls.[2] These miscellanea cannot be regarded as significant, except that before Talcott Williams's excavations there is no evidence of human interference with, or residence near, the site, apart from the transient Indian camp-fire locations. Among the debris also were a number of fragments of a small rough-surfaced clay vessel. This, Mr Harrington noticed, was similar in texture and, so far as could be gathered, shape to a vessel in the Guildhall Museum, London, which was described as a late sixteenth century, triangular goldsmith's crucible,[3] such as might have been used by Joachim Ganz in 1585–6. It will be seen, however, that the number of articles found in the fort ditch and enclosure which can be linked with any high degree of probability with the settlement of 1585–6 is small, and it will have been gathered that Mr Harrington has been unwilling to engage in any incautious optimism about the age of his finds.

From the experimental trenches driven westwards and north-westwards, and also eastwards, from the fort in 1947–8 very little was recovered. It was found that the present sand-cover and its associated trees are largely the result of the wind-action of the past two or three hundred years. To get the sixteenth-century level means going down from 1 ft. to 11 ft. A fragment of a brass buckle was found 2 ft. under sand dune deposit.[4] The only other feature of note was a charcoal pit about 100 ft. west of the fort, containing a mass of undisturbed charcoal under a deep humus layer[5] and, therefore, of considerable age. Until much further excavation is done—and this is difficult in view of the heavily-wooded ground—the village site (and that of the palisaded enclosure) is unlikely to be found.

Other objects in the Museum at the site must be treated with some caution. There is no evidence that the half of an Elizabethan shilling which is shown there[6] was found on the island or, indeed, in America. A brass finial, which could be Elizabethan, is said to have come from the roots of a tree outside the fort enclosure.[7] On rather better authority

[1] 'Report', I, 137–8.
[2] 'Report', II, 6.
[3] Ibid.
[4] 'Report', I, 147.
[5] Ibid. p. 146.
[6] Seen there, July 1948.
[7] 'Report', I, 148.

a small iron cannon-ball (diameter 2 in., weight 17 oz.) is held to have been found some 1100 ft. to the east of the fort[1] and could be Elizabethan, though no method of proof has been found.

The care with which the recent excavations have been done under the auspices of the National Park Service, the skill of Mr Harrington and the devotion of Mr Robert Atkinson, custodian of the site, have done much to save it from the romantics, who in the 1930's did their best to erect there wholly unsuitable monuments.

[1] 'Report', II, 6. Mr Harrington thinks it may be for a falconet.

APPENDIX IV

SOURCES

A. Notes.
B. Contemporary Manuscripts. *p.* 918.
C. Primary Printed Sources. *p.* 921.
D. Secondary Authorities. *p.* 931.

A. NOTES

1. For the reader's convenience, the sources have been grouped into as few lists as was practicable, though with some sacrifice of bibliographical niceties and some arbitrary choices where there was an alternative home for a particular title, since, to save space, titles have been placed under a single heading without cross-references.

Many more books and manuscripts than are listed below were consulted, but all those listed (*a*) provided some positive information, (*b*) suggested starting-points for some relevant comment or conclusion, or (*c*) were used, or might have been used, by those who took part in the Roanoke ventures.

The place of publication is London, unless otherwise stated.

2. *General acknowledgements.* My debts to libraries and record repositories are very extensive. In Great Britain the main part of the work on these volumes was done in the British Museum and the Public Record Office. The Library of University College, Swansea, the Bodleian Library, the Institute of Historical Research, London University Library, Queen's University Library, Library of the Queen's College, Oxford, the British Museum (Natural History), the Linnean Society, the College of Arms, and the House of Lords Record Office are among those which have contributed to them. Professor J. E. Neale allowed me to use his transcripts of Tudor parliamentary diaries. To Mr A. Ehrman I am indebted for the loan of a unique group of Almanacks for 1585, the property of Mr J. P. W. Ehrman. Mr F. G. Emmison and the staff of the Essex County Record Office were most helpful. The late Lord Leconfield gave me access to the manuscripts at Petworth House. To Colin Campbell, Esq., Dr Joyce A. Youings, Major William Ascott and Mr G. E. Madge I am indebted for assistance regarding papers in Plymouth, Barnstaple, Bideford and Exeter. Mr A. L.

Rowse lent me transcripts and gave me other assistance. Dr K. R. Andrews allowed me to use unpublished material and helped me substantially in the search of High Court of Admiralty records. Anthony R. Wagner, Esq., Richmond Herald, provided copies and drawings from the College of Arms. To Mrs Joyce Chaplin, Mr W. R. Smyth and Miss Norah H. Evans I am indebted for translations (and to the last for much invaluable help in other respects). On the continent, Señor José de la Peña y Cámara, of the Archivo General de Indias, was most helpful in regard to materials at Seville and Simancas, as were the officials of the Ministère des Affaires Étrangères and the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Dr A. Kessen of the University Library, Leyden, and Professor Axel Linvald of the Rigsarkivet, Copenhagen.

In the United States the Library of Congress and the Library of the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, provided most of my material. The North Carolina Collection in the latter, with the assistance of Miss Mary L. Thornton, proved particularly fruitful. Use was also made of the Library of William and Mary College, Williamsburg, Virginia, North Carolina State Library, Raleigh, N.C., the Folger Library, Washington, D.C., the Free Library of Philadelphia, the New York Public Library, the Pierpont Morgan Library, Yale University Library, the John Carter Brown Library, Providence, R.I., the Houghton Library, Harvard University, and the Boston Athenaeum. Dr Christopher Crittenden and his staff in the North Carolina Department of Archives and History were most helpful. Professor W. P. Cumming, Davidson College, North Carolina, allowed me to see his remarkable collection of photographs of maps. Mr J. C. Harrington and Dr Charles W. Porter III not only gave me access to the results of their own researches, but made available to me much material in the custody of the National Park Service at Washington and at Richmond. Dr John W. Shirley, State College, Raleigh, N.C., generously assisted me from his own collection of materials on Thomas Hariot, as did the late Warner F. Gookin of Oak Bluffs, Mass., with his genealogical collections. Miss Irene A. Wright kindly allowed me to see the typescript of her *Further English voyages* before publication and made it possible for me to dovetail her Spanish collections with my own. Professor Wesley Frank Craven, Professor Hugh T. Lefler, Dr W. A. Jackson and Professor G. B. Parks gave me valuable advice on sources. Mr Lambert Davis helped me with North Carolina queries and Miss Marchette Chute with references.

3. *Indians*. Dr Maurice A. Mook was of the greatest assistance in putting my feet on the right tracks, and I owe much to his papers and his assistance on sources. The late Frank A. Speck gave me invaluable help out of his unrivalled knowledge at a time when his own health was failing. Mr Remington Kellogg, with Mr M. W. Sterling, put the resources of the Smithsonian Institution at my disposal, Mr Neil M. Judd, and Mr H. W. Krieger, among many members of their staffs, being particularly helpful, as was Mr Alan Kidder III of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University. Mr J. C. Harrington has provided me with a stream of archaeological information which has proved invaluable. The Rev. James A. Geary, now retired from the Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C., has been my sole authority on language and has made a substantial contribution in this collection to Algonkian linguistic studies. The main gap lies in the lack of excavation to determine on the ground the distribution of Indian sites and to enable the culture sequence and affiliations of the Algonkian settlements to be fully worked out.

4. *Natural History*. Mr Harry T. Davis and his staff at the State Museum, Raleigh, N.C., undertook the first check of the natural history plates in Lorant's *The new world*, with very happy results. They also provided valuable bibliographical information. At Chapel Hill Professors W. C. Coker and H. R. Totten gave me the benefit of their unrivalled knowledge of the coastal flora of North Carolina, particularly with regard to trees and shrubs and, with advice from Mr W. L. Hunt of Chapel Hill on the horticultural side, enabled me to begin the annotation of the flora described by Hariot with some confidence, even though at the end some queries remain unanswered. The identifications of the fauna and flora in the White drawings were checked throughout in the British Museum (Natural History) and the U.S. National Museum, Washington. In the former, amongst others, Sir N. B. Kinnear, Mr A. C. Townsend, Mr W. T. Stearn and Mr A. H. G. Alston, and, in the latter, Dr Herbert Friedman, Dr Doris A. Cochran and Mr A. C. Smith, were particularly helpful. Mr Wilfrid Blunt kindly answered queries. To Professor Florence A. Mockeridge, Mr G. T. Goodman, and Dr Percy A. Little of the Department of Biology, University College, Swansea, are due thanks for much considerate assistance. The total result is that, though a number of uncertainties remain, a much higher proportion of identifications was made than at first seemed possible.

5. *Geography.* The main task in this connexion was the construction of the map of Raleigh's Virginia. Mrs Pegi Hopkins, formerly of the Department of Geology and Geography, University College, Swansea, did most of the preliminary work on the White maps by establishing the correctness of White's bearings inside the area with which he had made himself most familiar. She also made a preliminary survey of the literature on the Carolina Outer Banks. Topographical information was gathered on the spot in July 1948 when, through the courtesy of Admiral J. F. Farley, the editor, Dr Carl Bridenbaugh, and Mr John Gordon were able to avail themselves of Coast Guard boats and stations to see much of the Banks between Ocracoke in the south and Nags Head in the north, together with parts of Pamlico, Roanoke, Croatan and Albemarle Sounds, the Pasquotank River and Roanoke Island. Officers and men of the Coast Guard stations at Nags Head, Oregon Inlet and Ocracoke gave considerable assistance through their knowledge of the coast, as did Mr Carleton Kelly of Ocracoke, Mr Horace Dough of Nags Head and Mr Harry T. Davis. For the provision of maps the editor is indebted to Professor Douglass Adair, the U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey, the U.S. Geological Survey, and the Hydrographic Department of the Admiralty, Dr Christopher Crittenden, Professor W. P. Cumming and the Library of Congress. The literature is mainly to be found in the North Carolina Collection at Chapel Hill. The map would never have been completed if it had not been for the constructive advice of Mr R. A. Skelton and the technical skill of Mr G. S. Holland of the Royal Geographical Society. Dr Helen M. Wallis drew my attention to the Molyneux globe and has given much help on that and other cartographical problems, as has Professor E. G. R. Taylor. Mr D. H. Sadler of H.M. Nautical Almanac Office provided valuable material on solar eclipses.

6. *The John White Drawings.* The modern history of the White drawings begins when on 25 April 1860 Edward Everett Hale reported to the American Antiquarian Society in Boston that he had inspected a volume of drawings in the Sloane collection in the British Museum, which he believed to be originals by John White, and the publication of which, in facsimile, he recommended.[1] On 20 October 1866 Charles Deane reported to the same Society that a new portfolio of John White drawings, which were undoubtedly originals, had been acquired by the

[1] *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society, April 25, 1860* [no. 32], pp. 39–41, and see *Archaeologia Americana*, IV (1860), p. 21.

British Museum,[1] while in 1870 the circumstances under which they had passed from Henry Stevens to the British Museum were set out in detail in the Stevens catalogue of that year.[2] Thus the two main White sources, the Sloane copies and the Charlemont-Stevens portfolio, were by 1870 known to American historians. It is not at present known what publicity they received in England, but it was not until 1880 that another American writer, Edward Eggleston, examined the White originals in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum, and subsequently, in November 1882 and May 1883, published in New York, in the *Century Illustrated Magazine*, the first photographic reproductions of a group of White drawings and maps. These, however, attracted so little professional attention, that William Wirt Henry in his contribution to Justin Winsor's *Narrative and critical history of America* in 1889[3] made no mention of Eggleston's pioneer reproductions.[4] The latter went on, however, to inspect the Sloane volume in 1891, and he was the first to report, in the New York *Nation* of 23 April 1891,[5] that this collection contained much that was not represented in the other White volume and had an independent value, though he was sceptical whether the drawings were from the same hand as the originals. Apart from a rather uncritical report on the Sloane volume by David Ives Bushnell in 1906[6] that was almost all that has been published on it in America until recently. A landmark in the knowledge of the White originals comes, however, with the publication of the eighth volume of Hakluyt's voyages in 1904.[7] This contained good collotype reproductions of both of White's maps and of four of his Indian drawings, and its publication may be said to mark the date when a knowledge of the historical value of White's work among professional historians and librarians in America became general,

[1] *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society, October 20, 1866* [no. 46], pp. 11–12, cp. pp. 392–4 above.

[2] *Bibliotheca historica* (Boston, 1870), pp. 223–6.

[3] Vol. III, 123. They were unknown to Thomas Seccombe when he prepared his *D.N.B.* article (published in 1900) on White.

[4] P. Lee Phillips, however, re-examined the White map in 1896, and raised, for the first time, doubts on whether John White the painter of 1585 was the same man as the governor of the 1587 colony (*Smithsonian Institution Miscellaneous Collections*, XXXVII, 1–17).

[5] Vol. LII, 340–1. The transfer of the volume to the Department of Prints and Drawings in 1893 possibly resulted from Eggleston's inquiries.

[6] *American Anthropologist*, n.s., VIII, 671–85.

[7] Hakluyt Society, extra ser., VIII.

a result of which was the acquisition of sets of copies or photographs, usually coloured, by American libraries.[1]

In 1906 Laurence Binyon, in preparing his catalogue of drawings by British artists in the British Museum, examined the original White drawings in the Department of Manuscripts and succeeded in getting them transferred to the Department of Prints and Drawings. Moreover, in 1907 he published, in the *Catalogue*,[2] the first full list of drawings in both volumes, with an attempt at scientific identifications of the natural history subjects, as well as a general article in *Putnam's Magazine*,[3] setting out, for the first time, the claim that White was a water-colour painter of some distinction and originality, thus adding a new facet of interest to the drawings. He developed this theme some years later in the Walpole Society's volume for 1924–5,[4] and this paper remained for many years the standard assessment of White's place as pioneer artist-surveyor. The next stage was the issue by the British Museum of six White drawings as coloured postcards about 1930,[5] which gave a very good impression of their artistic value and their ethnological interest alike, and which prepared the way for the next step, the planning of the facsimile publication of the drawings.

In the United States David Ives Bushnell had in 1927–8 published for the first time all the original drawings of Indians, in black-and-white, and with, where possible, the text by Hariot to the De Bry engravings of 1590 to accompany them,[6] though without a critical survey of the discrepancies between the engravings and the set of drawings in the British Museum. Moreover, in 1929, W. J. Holland drew attention to the existence in the manuscript of Thomas Moffet's *Insectorum . . . theatrum* of a drawing of a butterfly obtained from White,[7] which subsequently attracted the interest of Randolph G. Adams,[8] and revealed the existence of several other White drawings in the same collection. Mrs Elsa G. Allen a little later published the

[1] E.g. the large, hand-painted copies in the Bureau of American Ethnology, Washington. The first coloured reproduction so far traced was one by W. H. Holmes of an Indian pot in 1903 in *Twentieth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology for 1898–9* (1903), p. 36.

[2] Vol. IV, *s.n.*

[3] July 1907, pp. 400–11.

[4] Vol. XIII (1924–5), 19–24, pl. XXIV–XXX.

[5] Set B 72, nos. B 427–32.

[6] *Virginia Magazine*, XXXV–XXXVI.

[7] *Scientific Monthly*, XXIX (1929), 45–8.

[8] *American Historical Review*, XLI (1935–6), 87–91.

first item from the neglected Sloane volume.[1] Thus, gradually, ethnologists and historians of natural history were becoming accustomed to use White material, but they were working apart from the art historians and colonial historians so that no balanced conspectus of his work emerged.

Laurence Binyon and Dr A. M. Hind planned in the 1930's, however, a fine volume of facsimiles. Sixty-five (of seventy-five) originals in the main collection were to be reproduced in colour-facsimile, under Dr Hind's editorship, and with notes on history, fauna and flora. No attention was to be paid, however, to the Moffet originals, the Sloane copies, or to the engravings. With the aid of a grant from the Pilgrim Trust, the British Museum produced in 1936 a prospectus of this proposed publication, together with two specimen plates of high quality, the plan being to publish the volume in 1938 at 15 guineas. Perhaps because a broad enough appeal was not made to scientific as well as to historical and art institutions the response was inadequate, so that publication was deferred. During the war the project remained in suspense, but Sir John Forsdyke, Director of the British Museum, kept it alive, and Mr Archibald MacLeish, then Director of the Library of Congress, Randolph G. Adams of the William L. Clements Library, and other American scholars were actively interested in it, so that it was hoped to proceed to publication shortly after the end of the war.

In 1946, however, an event occurred which interrupted these plans. Messrs Duell, Sloan and Pearce of New York published a volume edited by Stefan Lorant called *The new world. The first pictures of America*. Mr Lorant had the happy idea of including between two covers all the contemporary pictures of the sixteenth-century French and English North American ventures, with the associated texts in English. Besides the engravings from De Bry's *America*, parts i and ii, he proposed to include the White drawings in colour. However, instead of applying to the British Museum for permission to do so, he obtained hand-coloured photographs of White drawings from the William L. Clements Library, and reproduced sixty-four of them (sixty-three derived from the British Museum originals and one from the Moffet manuscript). Unfortunately, the colouring was inadequate to begin with, and the scale and definition of a number of the reproductions was so unsatisfactory as to rob the publication of much of its

[1] *The Auk*, n.s., LIII (1936), pl. I.

scientific and artistic interest,[1] more especially as the texts on the Roanoke voyages had been mishandled. With all its faults, however, the volume met a need and found its way into many libraries, thus blocking for some years the prospects of an expensive facsimile edition of White's drawings. In 1952, when the catalogue in the present collection was well advanced, and when the revised British Museum catalogue was in preparation, Mr R. A. Skelton got together an informal Anglo-American committee to investigate the possible demand for a comprehensive facsimile edition of the drawings. Its findings were so promising that the Department of Prints and Drawings was able to approach the Trustees of the British Museum late in 1953 and obtain formal assent for the edition. At the time of going to press final arrangements are still incomplete, but it appears highly probable that within a century of the first proposal to publish White's drawings they will at last appear as a fitting monument to a remarkable scientific recorder of North American life and an English artist of considerable stature.

The collaboration of the Department of Prints and Drawings and of the Map Room of the British Museum in the work on the White drawings and maps in this collection has been very close. The late Edward Lynam took a great deal of interest in White, and he and his successor Mr Skelton have contributed substantially to the study of White's work. Mr Edward Croft-Murray has been of the greatest help in the analysis of the drawings, while Mr P. H. Hulton and the editor have worked so closely together that they have long forgotten their individual contributions to the solution of the White problems. Mr Hulton's collaboration has been invaluable on almost every aspect of the study.

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[1] Cp. S. E. Morison in *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., IV (1947), 87–9, 395–402; Julian P. Boyd in *American Historical Review*, LIII (1947–8), 111–15.

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[*c*] Merveilleux et estrange rapport...par Thomas Hariot...des commoditez qui se trouvent en Virginia...traduit nouvellement d'Anglois *en* Fra*n*cois [by Charles de l'Écluse]. Typis J. Wecheli; sumptibus T. de Bry, Francofurti, 1590.

[*d*] Wunderbarliche, doch Warhafftige Erklärung, von der Gelegenheit und Sitten der Wilden in Virginia...newlich durch Christ. P. in Teutsch gebracht. Typis J. Welcheli; sumptibus T. de Bry, Francofurti, 1590.

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[*a*] Brevis narratio eorum quae in Florida Americae prov*in*cia Gallis acciderunt....Auctore Jacobo le Moÿne, cui cognomen de Morgues...latio ...donata a C[arolo] C[lusio] A[trebatense]. (Indorum Floridam provinciam inhabitantium eicones...ad vivum expressae à J. le Moyne.) Typis J. Wecheli; sumtibus T. de Bry, Francofurti, 1591.

[*b*] Der ander Theyl, der newlich erfundenen Landtschafft Americae, von dreyen Schiffahrten, so die Frantzosen in Floridam...gethan...Mit Beschreibung und...Contrafactur...durch Jacob le Moyne, sonst Morges genannt...jetzt auss dem Latein in Teutsch bracht, durch den Ehrwirdigen H. Oseam Halen....Typis J. Wecheli: Francofurti, 1591.

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